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NOVEMBER, 1953

ARTICLES

	PAGE
(1) Hilaire Belloc, Historian	641
By J. J. Dwyer	
(2) Scripture Occurring	662
By the Rev. L. Johnston	
(3) Thomas Merton and His Critics—An Essay in Interpretation	671
By Dom Denys Rutledge, O.S.B.	

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

(1) Mixed Marriage—Nullity Through Insincere Guarantees	678
(2) 1952 Enchiridion Indulgentiarum	680
(3) Alienation	681
(4) October Devotions	683
(5) Posture When Receiving Holy Communion	684
(6) Papal Blessing by Radio	685
By Canon E. J. Mahoney	

ROMAN DOCUMENTS

Erection of Scottish Diocesan Chapters	686
St Cassian, Patron of Stenographers	689

BOOK REVIEWS 690

CORRESPONDENCE

Duplicate Parish Registers	701
St Peter's Denials	702
Iona Abbey	704

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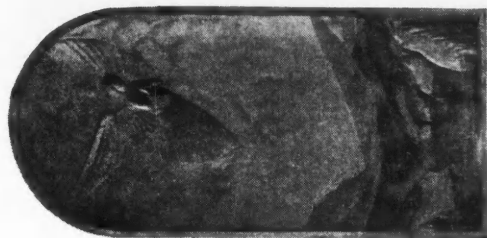
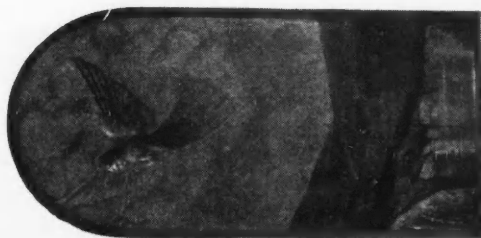
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The CLERGY REVIEW

NEW SERIES VOL. XXXVIII No. II NOVEMBER 1953

HILAIRE BELLOC, HISTORIAN

IN the autumn of 1904 an interesting set of lectures was being delivered at the St James's Hall (where now stands the Piccadilly Hotel), and Edmund Gosse and A. B. Walkley were not the only attractions. Many people went to hear the brilliant young man who had made such a reputation as a wit and orator in the Oxford Union. Others wanted to see and to hear the author of *Paris*, *The Path to Rome* and *Avril*. His discourse was mainly of what is now called geo-politics; he spoke of the number of divisions that France could put into the front line against Germany and declared that her artillery (of which he knew something by personal experience) was exactly seventeen times stronger than it was in 1870. It was all original and unexpected. Mr Hilaire Belloc continued to bring out brilliant books on astonishingly varied subjects. Two years later he was returned to Parliament as Liberal member for South Salford.

Despite his remarkable gifts and his great literary reputation he was not a success in the House of Commons partly because he was an uncompromising Catholic amid a crowd of rabid Nonconformists, partly because he made no attempt to acquire a parliamentary manner or outlook, most of all because he showed that he had no respect for the commands of Whips and the workings of the party system. To the party system in fact he soon developed something like open hostility. Moreover, one of the main objects of the majority in that parliament was the destruction of the Voluntary Schools. In the first General Election of 1910, Belloc was already an independent candidate, relying upon the Catholic vote and unaided by the party machine. He was returned but could not afford to stand again when there was a second General Election in the same year. From that time he became an avowed and pungent critic of the party system, advocating the audit of contributions to party funds, demanding investigation into the methods of, and the reasons for, granting "honours" and proclaiming that the

collusion of the two Front Benches was incompatible with any degree of political sincerity. Some years later he founded *The Eyewitness* of which he was the first editor. This was apparently intended to do for English politics, *mutatis mutandis*, something of what Charles Maurras and Léon Daudet were doing with their *Action Française*. When the Marconi case came to light Belloc threw himself into it with fierce joy. Eloquent, brilliant and very acrimonious articles attacked Lloyd George, Rufus Isaacs, and other Jewish politicians and constantly asserted the existence of widespread corruption in public life. The next editor, Cecil Chesterton, brother of G. K., eventually found himself prosecuted for criminal libel. Belloc, more occupied then with the writing of his own books, was not personally involved but was understood to be still the inspiration of the whole campaign, seeing that the two Chestertons, who were free-lance journalists, could have no direct knowledge of Politics, Industry or Finance. The *Eyewitness* was followed by the *New Witness*, but no new scandals were discovered.

His persistence and truculence in the Marconi campaign was, however, to have an unfortunate result which went beyond the adverse effect upon his own fortunes. It was the cause of the rejection by the Government of the offer of his services to the War Office in 1914. When we remember his knowledge of France, of the French Army, his personal friendships with French officers of standing, his deep understanding of military matters, and then recall the information available to the British Command, where hardly anybody but Sir Henry Wilson could speak French or had ever been acquainted with any members of the French General Staff, we can form some idea of the loss to the Allied cause. Belloc's services as an Interpreter and Liaison Officer at a high level would have been of enormous value and not least because he actually knew the ground, as well as the language, the campaigns of the past, and contemporary military ways. He had walked all over much of the area through which the long battle-line was to run and knew the country of the Marne, the Argonne,¹ the Vosges, the Meuse

¹ He had walked over the whole distance of the "Flight to Varennes". The present writer remembers his (oral) criticism of Lord Acton's account of it on the score that Acton "had put twenty-five hours into one day".

and the Moselle—that personal knowledge had already been made apparent in his books. But, most unfortunately, all that advantage was lost because he had already earned a reputation for being “impossible”.

It was not his fault that the vast majority of people here were taken completely by surprise in July 1914. Year in, year out, in season and out of season he had insistently warned the British public of the aims and ambitions of Germany. In this he was a true prophet, and like other true prophets was disbelieved and disregarded. His clear and emphatic warnings were treated as the normal anti-Germanism of a Frenchman and as part and parcel of his French and Catholic antipathy to German philosophy and German influence generally. But they had been much more specific than that, for his acquaintance with Prussian militarism was almost personal; it was based upon the experiences of his own family, who had lived at Saint-Cloud in 1870, and it was strengthened by an uncommon knowledge of military history, particularly that of wars fought on French soil. When it is remembered, moreover, that Germany had kept Europe in apprehension for fourteen years, from the Boer War to the tragedy of Sarajevo, and had, during that period, twice created a state of emergency, the blindness of “well-informed people” was indeed astonishing. In the international sphere generally his sympathies led him to advocate the self-government of Ireland and the national resurrection of Poland. Of the undeserved sufferings of that unhappy country at the hands of Russia and Prussia he had said much; but nobody took any notice.

Meanwhile Belloc had begun to combat the social legislation proposed by Lloyd George, especially National Health Insurance. This was not the Liberalism he had expounded and defended at the Oxford Union when he drank delight in battle with his peers, notably F. E. Smith. He regarded the new measures as German in origin and in spirit, devised by Bismarck and other Prussian servants of autocracy as the provision of social welfare and “security” for people who had never had any real understanding or experience of freedom. His fierce energy at the by-elections meant an irrevocable breach with friends, particularly with that ardent Liberal, his old comrade,

C. F. G. Masterman. The literary outcome was that remarkable book *The Servile State*, in which he argued that the mass of the population were going to be given security in exchange for their freedom, and would have their material welfare guaranteed but would have to accept a permanent servile *status*. This, he argued, would be the resultant of the two opposed tendencies, Capitalism and Socialism, a *tertium quid* which would be essentially different from either. His remedy, preached also by the Chestertons, was Distributism; but they never gave any adequate explanation of how this would be worked. If they had possessed one it would not have got a hearing, for they had no party, no funds, no organization and only a small weekly paper on which they lost money.

How this highly industrialized country with a huge urban proletariat could be brought round without confiscation and violence to widely-diffused ownership was never even considered by the Labour Party, and no other party was interested in the least. Belloc came to the conclusion that the Distributive State could be the outcome only of Catholic social principle and that this had been tragically repudiated and abandoned at the Reformation. Thus, he held, had Capitalism been irrevocably fastened upon the English people. Hence his obsession about the Dissolution of the Monasteries and consequent enrichment of the then landowners, and all the resultant development of an aristocratic and oligarchical minority party. This oligarchy, he maintained, had taken possession of the wealth and the governance of the country, displacing "Popular Monarchy" and a free and independent commonalty. He had always been possessed of a vivid historical sense and there can be little doubt that his views were strongly reinforced and deepened by his political experiences which were not untinged with disappointment. More and more he came to realize that all political and social movements were in reality based upon Religion. European civilization was the creation of the Catholic Church. The distinctive culture of Western Europe was solely created by the Church which had led men out of the ruins of the Roman Empire through the Dark Ages into the comparative light of our later day. The thesis afterwards was developed in that challenging book *Europe and the Faith*, and it was in this

belief—which became an imperious conviction—that he eventually resolved to write his own History of England.

During three or four years before the First World War he delivered a number of historical lectures in London. Some of the best were given to the University of London Catholic Students' Society of which he was the first President. They were wide-ranging and discursive but highly stimulating, and always enlivened with witty and pungent "asides" on contemporary affairs. In the more considered and compact "talks" which he frequently gave to St. Thomas's Historical Society (later, the Lingard Society) between 1918 and 1922, he was sometimes at his best but always very individual and characteristic. One of his singularities was that he would never stay to listen to the observations of anybody else; once he had said his say he would depart, often with precipitation. The same thing would occur at a public lecture.

From the outset of his career he had acquired the reputation of being an anti-"Semite" and he took some care not to lose it. This began at Oxford over the Dreyfus Case. It was natural that he who was born in France of French ancestry and had served in the French artillery should be keenly interested, and still more that he should be annoyed by the vehement partisanship of people in England who could not speak or read French, who knew nothing of French life and still less of the French Army. But, after all, the case turned on matters of fact that could not be known to anybody outside a very restricted circle; and it was doubly unfortunate that he should have needlessly created hostility and that he should strengthen and deepen in himself proclivities that did not make for tolerance, urbanity, or consideration for the feelings of men of alien habits of thought.

Meanwhile the lengthening list of his books revealed a poet, an essayist, a humourist and epigrammatist, a consummate artist in *belles-lettres*, and behind the array of purely literary works there appeared an expanding panorama of studies in European history. As early as 1900 he had written his *Paris*, an original and striking blend of historical passion and literary virtuosity, instinct with a sense of the *gesta Dei per Francos*. To him, as to Anatole France's professor, the very stones of Paris spoke,

and they spoke to him everywhere of the astonishing deeds of the French people. The books on Danton and Robespierre are not so likely to be remembered, but his *Marie Antoinette* (1910) is a masterpiece of the noblest eloquence. More important to the student is the brilliant little book on the French Revolution which he contributed to the Home University Library, for this challenges and indeed demands discussion. After announcing himself as a Catholic "in political sympathy strongly attached to the political theory of the Revolution", he proceeds to pose, as the vital question: "Was there a necessary and fundamental quarrel between the doctrines of the Revolution and those of the Catholic Church?" and to answer his own question in the negative. You cannot, he declared, call the Revolution a necessary enemy of the Church, nor the Church of Democracy. It is impossible, he says, for the theologian or even the practical ecclesiastical teacher to put his finger upon a political doctrine essential to the Revolution and to say "this doctrine is opposed to Catholic dogma or to Catholic morals"; and conversely for the Republican.

He then answers his own questions by explaining and insisting upon the profound error of the men who framed the Civil Constitution of the Clergy—a measure of which, at that date, (1910), there was nowhere any adequate account in English. And he finds the seat of the error to consist in their belief that the Catholic Faith was a moribund superstition and therefore the Catholic Church in France a thing which they were entitled and able to deal with as they wished. It was this belief of the men of the National Assembly who passed the measure that lit the civil war and dug the pit which divided Catholicism from the Revolution at the moment of the foreign invasion, and so led to the great persecution.

The argument is more theoretical and less factual than one would expect from a writer possessed of his knowledge. French anti-clericals and apologists for the Revolution unanimously give an explicit affirmative answer to his question. There is obviously no conflict between the Gospel (or Catholic doctrine) and Liberty, Equality and Fraternity; no conflict with a democratic revolution; but the revolutionaries themselves took care that there should be an enormous conflict between the Church

and *their* French Revolution, for a reason which they formulated in Article III¹ of the Declaration of the Rights of Man; that in the name of the Sovereign People they had the right to control the Church in France to any degree that pleased them, and that in the interests of their own hostile doctrine of Secularism.

Belloc, moreover, furnishes with equal force and clearness the other answer to his own question when he proceeds to say: "The Catholic Church is an institution of necessity autonomous. It cannot admit the right of any other power exterior to its own organization to impose upon it a modification of its discipline, nor, above all, a new conception of its hieratic organization." He goes on to affirm that certain traditional political rights may be relinquished but the general principle of civil control by a superior external power can never be admitted. Now this is precisely what French "anti-clericals" have always claimed. Virtually all the speeches in the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies in the endless debates on Education, the Religious Orders, the Concordat and so forth have, at all times, been full of allusions to "the principles of 1789" and to the events of the Great Revolution. It is curious that Belloc, who must have known as much about Gambetta and Jules Ferry as he knew about Waldeck-Rousseau, Combes and Aristide Briand, should return an answer which would not have been given—and, in fact, was not given—by either side then contending in France. The Third Republic had twice in his lifetime expelled the Religious Orders, even the contemplatives, because their profession and their very existence on French soil was deemed incompatible with the *laïcité* which was then the principal preoccupation of Republican politics;² and the men who did this and severed the age-long connexion between Church and State in France proclaimed incessantly that it was done in accordance with the principles of the Revolution.

Many of his admirers have regretted that his splendid gifts

¹ "The Principle of Sovereignty resides essentially in the Nation: no body of men, no individual, can exercise an Authority that does not emanate expressly from that source."

² It is only fair to add that in later years his views on this matter underwent a very great change.

and energies were expended in work for which he was not temperamentally fitted; they would have had him keep to literature and not write so much history. The pity of it was that he did not obtain one of those secure academic positions which would have enabled him to work in serenity, without haste, free from economic pressure and, above all, without that sense of exasperation which overflowed into all his later work. Such positions were granted readily to men without a tithe of his ability; in his case the difference would have been incalculable. As it was, he was driven to work under pressure which was inimical to the formation of tolerant and tranquil judgements and the careful balancing of complex considerations. This can be seen in those curious books purporting to be biographies which he began to produce in the late 'twenties. They are fluent, colloquial, vehement. He buttonholes the reader, addressing him personally, and as it goes on the temperature rises. One almost expects him to say, like Omar Khayyám:

"One thing is certain and the rest is lies. . . ."

It is indeed the concentration on one, or on one or two, points only that constitutes the idiosyncrasy of these books. In that on James II (1928) we hear the incessant slogans "popular monarchy", "a knot of very rich men", "the immensely wealthy opposition", while James II is defended through thick and thin. He even interrupts the discourse to emphasize the wealth of Lady William Russell, Shaftesbury's cousin; it would have been more illustrative to have pointed out that when the infirm and elderly Viscount Stafford was unjustly condemned to death, as a Popish Plot victim, Russell loudly demanded that he should be hanged, drawn and quartered, not beheaded. An even more characteristic performance is the book on Wolsey (1930). Here the one thing is the Divorce; it is really nothing but an *excursus* on that subject, and of Wolsey as a great administrator and reformer there is no account at all. Moreover, there are mistakes, due to haste or dictation, of a kind on which hostile reviewers always fastened with glee; in this case the birth of Henry VIII is twice given as in 1489 (p. 91 and p. 309); the fifth Earl of Northumberland is confused with the sixth; and, in a matter of detail, Cardinal Campeggio is confused with Cardinal Adrian di Castello.

What is still more disquieting is the use of limelight: "the Stage", "the Programme", "the Plot", "the Cast" and five acts with "An Interlude" between the third and the fourth. In the book on Richelieu he missed a great opportunity by preferring to treat "one matter only, but a matter of supreme importance", namely his favourite thesis of the permanent division of European society into two sharply opposed cultures. There is next to nothing about administration, institutions or the transition of the monarchy of the Valois to that of Louis XIV, because he chooses to concentrate on the suppression of the Huguenots and on the misguided support which Richelieu gave to the opponents of the House of Austria in the Thirty Years War. To place Richelieu clearly in the line of French statesmen of the Ancien Régime would have needed more time and more trouble. In nearly every case there is a preface explaining that "deliberate selection" has been used, that details have been disregarded, that the book is an essay not a chronicle, and so forth. But this deliberately adopted procedure, coupled with the explicit refusal to supply references, did not inspire confidence; in many quarters it only too easily aroused distrust.

The *History of England* was evidently meant to be a distinct challenge not only to traditional or nineteenth-century Protestant views, but to the whole current of later work which he was fond of calling "academic history" and "official history". For this enterprise or crusade he had been preparing for a long time and he clearly meant to restate the whole matter from the Roman invasion to modern times. He meant to correct first of all the Anglo-Saxon bias created by Freeman, Stubbs and J. R. Green, and to retell the whole story of the Reformation. The latter he regarded as primarily and almost wholly an economic revolution, arising out of the Dissolution of the Monasteries, and resulting in the formation of a wealthy aristocratic oligarchy using both Parliament and local government as its instrument. The programme was ambitious, first, because he was a man writing for a living and writing singlehanded, without endowments or assistants; secondly, because he was implicitly undertaking to amend and improve upon the work of Firth, Tout, Pollard, Tait, A. L. Smith, H. W. C. Davis, H. A. L. Fisher,

and other eminent scholars still living. Nor could he, as Maitland did against Stubbs, deliver a completely-studied and massive attack, as a specialist, in one selected field; he was undertaking, more or less, to refute all of them, all along the line. This was because he was deeply convinced that the whole English outlook was wrong, that it had been vitiated by deliberately-falsified "history", written for political and social ends while purporting to relate changes in religious beliefs and the vicissitudes of constitutional development. He was therefore under the necessity of attacking the great myth at its source. With immense courage and confidence and fortified by omnivorous reading, if not by methodical training, he cast himself for the part of David against the Goliath of "official history".

His methods were the outcome of his own temperament. Lingard, to whose *History of England* he had added a somewhat incongruous supplement, had aimed at getting a hearing from an intensely Protestant public by his studied moderation and quiet accuracy, above all by adducing evidence for what was likely to be disbelieved. Belloc, on the contrary, advanced to the attack with no attempt or desire to make his version of English History palatable. He was not merely aggressive; he appeared to delight in contradicting the most cherished traditions, the imperious energy of Henry VIII,¹ the steely courage of Elizabeth, the valour and worth of the "Sea-Dogs", the disinterested patriotism of John Hampden and Oliver Cromwell. Very quickly he earned for himself the designation of "Roman Catholic propagandist". His persistence in dwelling upon his main theses was doubtless due to his recognition of the fact that men retain the prejudices of their early education and environment long after they have learned enough to discard them. But, for his readers as for the characters he studies, the historian ought to be as understanding as possible, and he ought to have realized that sharp clarity of statement, especially unwelcome and challenging statement, will not often be accepted as final. He should also have remembered that to many of his readers understatement was something intrinsically good, that ambiguity was a normal element of their mental climate, and that they had been taught

¹ The present writer vividly remembers being drawn into argument with him on that point.

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to believe that nobody can possess a competent knowledge of more than one subject.

A powerful imagination made him at home in every period. He always wrote as if he had lived and contended, exulted and suffered in the times he was discussing. This, combined with a vivid style and provocative views, was enough to make any book by him arresting if not exciting. But unfortunately he always refused to give authorities for statements which most needed such support. "To say I omit footnotes," he wrote in the preface to the first volume, "and the jargon of abbreviated reference is a very different thing from saying I do not bring forward arguments." The present writer frequently heard him deride the whole apparatus of references, bibliography and so forth, and he would allude with glee to the mishap of Anatole France.¹ But the result of clinging to an antiquated practice already abandoned by French historians was that nobody could feel sure when, or whether, he was using new material or merely taking old material and putting a new and contrary interpretation on it. His general historical knowledge was so vast and in places so detailed that nobody could be sure what he had read—or not read. What was he using in the way of sources? In the preface referred to above he mentions Fustel de Coulanges; but that great scholar died in 1889. In the preface of the fourth volume he refers only to A. F. Pollard. Nor does his manner of writing do anything to compensate for this drawback, because he is uniformly confident and emphatic whether he is giving the numbers of the cavalry in some battle, or expressing a very general and a very personal opinion such as his conclusion about the Reformation that "it was due in nothing to necessity but to the perverted wills and cumulative sins of men". In many places, where there is a hammering insistence on one or two main points, can it be assumed that other matters are omitted as the result of deliberate selection or merely through rapidity and impatience? Or does his freedom from *idées reçues* proceed from the mentality of the poet and artist who instinctively wishes to create his own facts? He had an imagination saturated with History; but had he the temper of an historian?

¹ Anatole France had arranged with some hack writer to supply footnotes and references for the Life of Joan of Arc and had been rather badly let down.

Certainly his *History* would have had far better prospects of acceptance if he had been able to use other methods. But his methods were an integral part of himself and he could do no other. The fact that he was imperilling its success apparently did not deter him in the least. *On renonce moins aisément à ses goûts qu' à ses intérêts.*

Let us again look rapidly through the four volumes.

He holds that the two great errors of "orthodox history" were the tendency to minimize the duration and depth of the Romanization of Britain and a very gross exaggeration of the effect of the Saxon inroads. He corrects the former by devoting nearly half of this first volume¹ to the Roman conquest and governance, providing an elaborate table, with dates, of the Emperors down to Theodosius II and of the generals and governors down to A.D. 410; and his firm conclusion is that "the Roman villa remained the social unit, the towns survived, the local governor or king administered the Imperial domain . . . and Britain, like the Continent, went through a process of social decline but did not suffer any interruption of its continuous social life". Belloc, in short, derives everything English from Rome.

After the necessary admission that there ensues a gap of nearly 200 years (410-597) he proceeds to fill it by his own reasoning. The Anglo-Saxons were supposed, by nineteenth-century writers, to have poured into Britain in an irresistible flood driving those Britons who survived extermination into Wales and Cornwall. This, he argues, was impossible; the partly Romanized Britons were subjugated but not wiped out. Then came the Catholic Church, with bishoprics, monasticism, councils, the use of Latin, and "the whole apparatus of Western Culture". This of course is an explicit reversal of the whole picture painted by E. A. Freeman and John Richard Green. It was meant to be challenged. Belloc had always been exasperated by the old trick of always alluding to the Saxons as "Christians" but never as Catholics—as though King Alfred had been some kind of Nonconformist. Hence his constant

¹ *A History of England*, Vol. I, 55 B.C. to A.D. 1066 (1925). Vol. II, 1066 to 1348 (1927). Vol. III, 1348 to 1525 (1928). Vol. IV, 1525 to 1612 (Methuen & Co.). Vol. V, 1612-1715, did not appear, nor the projected volumes VI and VII.

references to the Mass. Belloc's account of Saxon culture rests upon the immense importance of the Church as the civilizing force which bridged the transition from the Roman Empire; therefore Rome, civil, military, and then religious, was and remained the sole cultural influence. That civilization was very narrowly to escape destruction by the Scandinavian pirates who, before conversion, were merely bestial savages. And so, at the close of the Saxon period, he is very explicit about the mischievous activities of Godwin, the usurpation of Harold, the "monstrous behaviour" of Stigand. The Norman Conquest is clearly presented as the reintegration of England in the full Western civilization of the time; and not the least valuable pages of this first volume are those in which he explains and dilates upon the significance of that network of relationships which connected Paris with Rouen, Boulogne, and Flanders, and which had so much to do with William of Normandy's descent upon England.

But is all this fairly presented? Does he not set up one exaggeration against another? Nobody can be positive about what happened in Britain during the Dark Age, and Belloc was not exactly an archaeologist. Anyone who proposes radically to alter the reader's whole conception of English History must be judicious; but Belloc's union of powerful imagination and intense conviction sometimes gets the better of his judgement. He did not always remember that caution in inference, above all where the evidence is scanty, is a kind of integrity, and he is misled by his passion for clear and forcible statement. He says for instance on p. 162 that the West of England was cut off so that in place of history we have only "wild Welsh legend". On the following page he tells us that there were two clear divisions: "the Courts of the Eastern Kings were pagan in 597, the courts of the Western Kings were Christian". The admission that "all true record of the Midland mass of England is lost" is followed by an explicit statement of what he calls the three divisions of the Period of Recovery. Perhaps the most surprising thing in this volume is the calm reinstatement of King Lucius as an historical person in Britain. When he comes to one of his favourite topics, the Battle of Hastings, he gives full vent to his dislike of Freeman. He accuses him of pedantry and gross

ignorance for using the word Senlac and asserts that Freeman paraded that term as a special discovery of his own though borrowed without acknowledgment from Lingard. Now what Lingard says is this: "Some writers have supposed the name was derived from *sangue-lac*, the lake of blood, in allusion to the carnage made in the battle. But Orderic assures us that Senlac was the ancient name—*locus qui Senlac antiquitus vocabatur*."

Modern research has however corroborated Orderic and, therefore, Freeman also. It has been discovered that Senlac is merely Orderic's spelling of the old English Sandlacu, a sandy stream, and that Sandlake was the name actually of a tithing of Battle. The point is a small one; but it is exactly the kind of thing where Belloc—on his own principles of respecting tradition and preferring old authorities—would have fiercely maintained the opposite, had the term been used by someone other than Freeman. Nevertheless, this first volume of the *History* is a powerful and brilliant contribution; the assemblage of facts and the ingenuity of the reasoning attest long and deep preparation. Belloc never writes as one who has "got up" a subject or a period, but as one who has always known all about it.

After the insistent argumentation in the first volume it is pleasant to take up the second wherein his great gifts of descriptive narrative and delineation of habit and character show him at his best. Where he allows full play to his imagination—and he can do that more safely here—and relinquishes the special pleading demanded by his basic postulate, he is very successful and his account of England takes on a colour and shape of reality. He was indeed a surer judge of character and personality than an analyst of fluid and developing situations, for he is always impatient to give a clear-cut picture with a firm outline. There is a wonderful portrait gallery of the Plantagenet kings, interspersed with swift and brilliant aperçus such as the parallel between Flambard and Thomas Cromwell, or with sudden strokes that bring men to life; Strongbow, we are told, had a squeaky voice. Here is William the Conqueror: "A man short, rather bald, round-headed, clean-shaven, very vigorous, perpetually in the saddle; of strong judgement but temper almost as strong, with long purpose and tenacious will and the

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appetite for order of his race. There is much that is Roman about him." Here is Henry II.: "See him moving feverishly about, restless in gesture, impatient, desiring quick Masses from his chaplains and short meals of his cooks; with scant tufts of red hair on a pate nearly bald; prominent but keen eyes, glancing everywhere, observant; ready for anger. Such was the Angevin." There are other vignettes, equally vivid, of William Rufus, Henry I, Henry III, and those unexpected details drawn from his own travels such as the exact situation of Fréteval where Henry II and Becket were reconciled. He always delights in explaining a campaign or a battle; he provides a plan of the fight at Evesham, showing the marching and counter-marching.

The brilliant chapter entitled "Introduction to the Middle Ages" deserves to be printed separately as a monograph. He makes the best use, too, of his great expository powers in the pages devoted to feudal society, land tenures, and so on, reinforced as they are with excellent diagrams. The military part is of course one of the best and clearest, especially the admirable explanation of the importance in mediaeval warfare of castles and castle-sieges. And Belloc would not have been himself if he had not put in a disquisition on the value of money at varying times in those communities. There is hardly any point on which so many writers have gone wrong simply through neglect of considerations on which he always insists. It is not sufficient to take an "index figure" (produced by statisticians) as to the average "purchasing power" of a given weight of gold at a given date. He always insists that there were two other elements which determined the *social value* of money at any time: the number and kinds of things on which money could be spent at the time in question; and the size and standard of wealth of the said community; the same income (in figures) will still go very much farther in one place than another, nor need we take extreme cases such as England and Patagonia.

The marked difference between English and continental feudalism and between the effective power of the King of England and the King of France are ascribed by him to scale, that is to say, England had a strong centralized government in comparison with France, because England was a smaller country. But here the historian appears to forget something on

which he had dilated in his first volume. Under Edward the Confessor England was the same size; but the power of the King was very different. Earl Godwin and his sons, and Earl Leofric and Earl Siward were practically independent. The reason was, obviously, that William the Conqueror had done two things that made all the difference: he made every mesne land-lord swear fealty to himself as supreme overlord; and he distributed lands in scattered fiefs which could never become strong chieftainships. William thus saw to it that there was to be nobody in England like the Duke of Normandy or the Count of Blois or the Count of Champagne in France. In mediaeval kingship personality was all-important and that is the real reason why the royal power from time to time was just what the king could make it. One has only to compare the reign of Edward I with that of his father and of his son, or Henry VI with Edward IV. France could show only three monarchs of equal stature, Philip Augustus, Saint Louis and Philip IV.

Belloc's accounts of ecclesiastical affairs, which have so often been related with anti-Catholic and even anti-Christian bias, is naturally much better than those of "official historians". The issues in the contest between St Anselm and Henry I, or between St Thomas Becket and Henry II, or the submission of John to Innocent III are clearly explained and so is the part played by the papal legates in the guardianship of the minority of Henry III. But there is exaggeration in attributing the break-up of the "Angevin Empire" to the murder of St Thomas, which, he says, broke the moral authority of the English Crown. The murder did not "change the whole balance in Western Europe". He has to admit that it was the unremitting jealous hatred of Henry's Queen, Eleanor of Aquitaine, that was the root of the trouble, for in revenge for his infidelities she instigated their sons to rebel against him. His watchful enemy, the King of France, was there to help them whenever it was feasible. The great coalition of 1173 against Henry II was not really the outcome of St Thomas's death but of the military and political situation; in any case, Henry overcame it. It would have been more to the point if instead of speaking of the Henry-Becket contest in general terms, i.e. about the whole relation of Church and State, the historian had stated explicitly what each

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contestant obtained by that struggle. Two things of high importance were definitely secured to the Church in England: the right of appeal to Rome and, in a modified form, "benefit of clergy", and these subsisted down to the Reformation. On his side, the King retained in fact the power of nominating to bishoprics and most of the higher preferments, very much like the post-Reformation *congé d'élire*, and this power was modified only when there was a specific and direct intervention by the Pope.

On the other hand, Belloc is on very sure ground when refuting old notions about Magna Carta having been a victory for "constitutional principle" over monarchical power, and some readers may have been surprised by his estimate of Simon de Montfort. The growth of institutions in the thirteenth century is no matter for rapid and summary judgements but one thing at least seems clear: there was a growing sentiment of English nationality despite the close relations with France and virtual identity of culture with Southern Europe generally. Whether or no it was stimulated by the loss of Normandy and the other provinces it assuredly manifested itself very strongly in the following century.

The third volume of the *History of England* (*The Later Middle Ages*) exhibits Belloc's strong and weak points with striking clearness. At the very beginning we meet with a surprising phrase, which almost suggests eccentricity, "Thomas Cromwell's breach with Rome". Then a brilliant little picture of the external aspect of that time: "a time of architecture loaded with grotesque or elaborate detail, of plate armour, of detailed and exquisite miniature painting [illuminated Books of Hours] of a quaint English interspersed here and there with fragments of French; of complicated stained glass, of strikingly picturesque and changing fashion in the dress of the wealthy . . ." and he goes on to enumerate those evils, insufficiently grasped by Catholics today, the abuse of endowments and the simoniacal devices which tended to turn the priesthood into a mere system of revenue. There is a very necessary explanation that the Commons had no real power in the Middle Ages, the country being governed by the King and his Council, and an excellent account of the taxation which produced the Peasants' Revolt of

1381—here of course he does not omit to explain what could be bought for a shilling in 1381. His disquisition on Wycliffe leads on to another on the very technical subject of "Wycliffe Bibles" and the English vernacular versions of the Scriptures, a matter on which he could not expect to be regarded as expert. On the other hand, his observations on Caxton do not lead him much further than some general considerations on the excessive power of the printed word.

The distinctive feature of this part of the *History* is his treatment of the House of Lancaster, which incurs his dislike simply because it led to the Tudors. His intense hatred of Henry VIII extends to Henry VII and to the Beauforts and thus works back (so to speak) to John of Gaunt and Bolingbroke. The latter is always described as "the usurper" and the murderer of Richard II, and the York family as "the rightful line". Conversely, Edward IV, who was a profligate, a ruffian and a murderer, gets much gentler treatment, a clear case of the use of different weights and measures. He labours to prove that Catherine, the widow of Henry V, was never married to Owen Tudor, despite the difficulty of proving a negative, especially in that matter, at a time when there was a great deal of informality and uncertainty about what was a valid marriage. His purpose is of course to demonstrate that the stigma of bastardy attaches to the line on both sides, because the Beauforts were descended from John of Gaunt's mistress, Katharine Swynford. He even appears to think—though hinting is not usually his way—that one or other of the two pretenders to Henry VII's crown may perhaps have been the young Prince Richard of York, who somehow escaped when his brother Edward V was murdered in the Tower. The curious thing is that here he had a decisive piece of evidence under his hand and missed it. Although he takes a singular and rather hostile interest in the Howards (probably because of Anne Boleyn), and actually gives in two different places a table showing their connexion (II, p. 375 and III, p. 367) with the Mowbrays, he does not see the significance of the date of the creation of John Howard as first Duke of the Howard line. John, who was the son of Sir Robert Howard and Margaret Mowbray, was created Duke by Richard III on 28 June 1483. But Prince Richard, younger son of Edward IV (1472-83), had

been, as a child, married to Anne Mowbray, the then heiress, in 1478, and had been given the three Mowbray titles of Earl of Nottingham, Duke of Norfolk and Earl Warrenne. Therefore, the boy must have been dead on or before 28 June 1483.¹ Belloc rightly stresses the failure of both Lambert Simnel and Perkin Warbeck to account satisfactorily for the years after 1483: the obviously likely explanation of their appearance and bearing is that they both were illegitimate sons of Edward IV.

It is of course true enough that Henry VII had no real right to the Crown. But he was astute enough to combine a statement of his "claim" with his application to Innocent VIII for a dispensation to marry his relative, Elizabeth of York, and in reply he received an assent to both. He thus made sure of the clergy.

Even those well acquainted with Belloc's standpoint may be somewhat surprised at a heading "The Schism of Anne Boleyn". This is part of his drastic simplification whereby Henry VIII is represented as the puppet of Anne Boleyn and then of Thomas Cromwell; Henry's own initiative is minimized when it is not flatly denied. Thus there is no discussion, or mention, here of the change of direction of English endowments from monasteries to colleges, nothing of the changing atmosphere associated with Colet and Erasmus, no admission that there had been heresy active in England before 1527. In an earlier work he had made the remark that "you could not have had a Diocletian in the thirteenth century . . . and you could not have had Henry VIII if the England of the fifteenth century just preceding had been an England devoted to the monastic profession"; but not here, where it would be so relevant. It is stranger still to find nothing about the elaborate scheme projected by Henry and Wolsey for converting some twelve or fifteen of the great abbeys into cathedrals for new dioceses.² "The Upheaval" did not begin with any project of sweeping confiscation. Everybody knows that the Reformation Parliament which met in November 1529 entered upon a course of revolutionary legislation under royal inspiration and guidance

¹ How did this young Yorkist prince come to hold the Mowbray titles? Because the Thomas Mowbray who was son of the Duke who quarrelled with Bolingbroke in 1398 had lost his titles through rebelling against Henry IV.

² The list and the accompanying memorandum (by Henry himself) will be found in Gasquet's *Henry VIII and the English Monasteries*.

long before Thomas Cromwell became important. The King had been acknowledged as Supreme Head of the Church in England, appeals to Rome had been forbidden, the King empowered to appoint bishops without any reference to Rome, Church legislation was to be henceforward only with the King's consent, More and Fisher had been executed under the Statute of Treasons: all before Cromwell was made Vicar-General. These things had all been done by Henry's command and under his direct and threatening pressure. Who would have dared to suggest such proceedings had the King's mind and will not been known? All this was done before anybody could have had any expectation of getting an acre of monastic land. The policy of visitation was not started till July 1535. Nor is it true that Henry was forced to part with a very large share of the plunder. He had to sell it, of course, for he wanted cash, and because so much land was thrown on the market all at once the prices were lower. But he did in fact sell more than 90 per cent of it for cash and the Augmentation Office was set up to conduct the sales, get in the purchase moneys and arrange the pensions—as anybody can see in Dugdale's *Monasticon*. The deals were expressed as "grants" for technical reasons because the King was the vendor—but very little was given away. When he had put Cromwell to death Henry took back the lands of Lewes Priory and sold them to somebody else. There is over-statement, again, in asserting Henry's passionate attachment to orthodoxy—a French view always formulated as "The Anglican Schism". Belloc calls the Ten Articles "a strong affirmation of Catholic doctrine" which proves the King's orthodoxy. Competent Catholic scholars do not agree with that judgement and find in the Ten Articles a savour of heresy. In the last years of Henry's reign there were two parties in the episcopate. On the one side were: Tunstall, Gardiner, Stokesley, Longland, Clerk, Bonner; on the other, Cranmer, Latimer, Barlow, Shaxton, Goodrich, E. Foxe, Hilsey. These two groups of bishops were irreconcilable adversaries because they were of different religions, while the Supreme Head on Earth held a wavering balance between them. Belloc does not mention that state of affairs at all, presumably because he would then have had to explain how it was compatible with passionate attachment to orthodoxy.

In the long, full, brilliant section headed "The Cecils" there is a parallel exaggeration. Undoubtedly Burghley did all the real work of the government. He was always reading reports, dictating letters and orders, pondering "devices", while Elizabeth was making progresses or trying on dresses, listening to plays and music, or talking or dancing. "Of all men of genius," said Camden, "he was most a drudge; of all men of business, the most a genius." But the Queen kept all the main decisions in her own hands to the very last moment. It was her personal technique to keep people guessing to the end so that nobody could anticipate her actions. If Cecil had been "supreme" and "her master", Mary Queen of Scots would have been put to death in 1572, not in 1587, and the persecution of Catholics intensified long before 1581. High office was given to incompetent favourites like Leicester or Hatton, to Burghley's great inconvenience, but he could not help it. Elizabeth exercised in particular her Supreme Governorship over her Church by her power of appointment with which she coupled a policy of systematic extortion. The Church estates were heavily plundered, both for her own direct benefit and, more frequently, as a means of indirect payment for services—when she paid for them at all—without expense to the treasury. Again, had Burghley ruled, there would have been no Court of High Commission, nor would Whitgift have been suffered to harry the Puritans.

The eloquent commentary—for it is that rather than a flowing narrative—ends with the death of Robert Cecil (Salisbury) in 1612. No further volume of the *History* was published.

Much was written on this man of genius: on his eightieth birthday (in 1950); at the time of the Centenary of the English Hierarchy; and most of all in the recent obituary notices. It would need all that, and more, justly to appraise his immense contribution to letters. He was in truth a born writer and a great artist, and the most stimulating, if not the most profound, of historians. His range, both of matter and manner, was enormous; he could be very gay or very solemn, ferocious or exquisite. For each and all of his infinitely varied topics he had the appropriate style, rollicking humour, deadly wit, stately

rhetoric, pungent irony. And he was much more than a great writer: he was a great influence and he has inspired brilliant followers. He waged a ceaseless fight for his ideals, for Faith and Freedom, the Family and Private Property, which he held to be the only guarantee of Liberty. Essentially traditionalist, he stood firmly for what he knew to be the best. Above all, he was zealous for the liberty and exaltation of the Church as the formative influence and the only sure guardian of all that is valuable in our civilization. It was this high endeavour, this sense of mission, which made him a great Defender of the Faith.

J. J. DWYER

SCRIPTURE OCCURRING

A PRIEST in his daily recital of the breviary must often wonder who was responsible for selecting the scripture that he reads in the first nocturn, and what were the motives underlying his selection of any given passage. The answer to the first question is easy enough, as far as it goes. The breviary as we have it today is essentially due to Pius V; certain modifications have been introduced since his time—notably, the reform of the psalter by Pius X—but the scripture occurring has remained unchanged. However, it is rarely the Church's custom to add explanatory footnotes to her decisions, and Pius V is no exception. All that we possess in the way of documentation is his bull of promulgation, *Quod a nobis*; and a letter from one of the commission of reform. But *Quod a nobis* is merely disciplinary, and all Pius V tells us about the principles underlying the reform is that it was a return to the old traditional way of reciting the office, in order to put an end to the vagaries and abuses of recent years. The other document, the letter, is presumed to be from Marini; and as he had also been a member of the commission of Pius IV and of the Council of Trent, his witness is valuable; but unfortunately he does not refer to scrip-

ture occurring except in a general way, dealing with alterations which ensure that it shall be said more regularly: offices are of nine lessons or of three, and three out of the nine and one out of the three shall be from the scripture of the time.¹

So we are left to deduce what we can from the breviary itself. It might be thought that previous breviaries would help, in giving a standard of comparison; but this is not quite so. I have here a *Breviarium Romanum* printed in Venice, 1562-64—in other words, while the commission was actually working on the reform. But the passages of scripture occurring which it gives are not sufficient to allow us to make a detailed comparison. One thing we can see is that the order in which we read the books has not been changed. For the convenience of readers, it may be worth indicating the order:

Advent to Christmas:	Isaias.
Christmas to Septuagesima:	Pauline Epistles.
Septuagesima to Passion:	Genesis and Exodus.
Passiontide:	Jeremias and Lamentations.
Low Sunday to Pentecost:	Acts, Apocalypse, Catholic epistles.
Pentecost to August:	Kings.
August:	Parables, Ecclesiastes, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus.
September:	Job, Tobias, Judith, Esther.
October:	Machabees.
November:	Ezechiel, Daniel, Minor prophets.

Such slight changes as there are can be traced to a difference in rubrics: after Christmas, the present breviary begins the Pauline epistles on 29 December, while under the old system the feasts and octaves of this time were occupied by the lives of the saints or homilies, so that the scripture reading was not resumed till the second Sunday after the Epiphany; with the result that by Septuagesima they had only arrived at Galatians, while we have read something of each epistle.

However, this coincidence in the order is scarcely surprising, as it was already fixed in this way in the eighth century, as we

¹ Batiffol, *History of the Roman Breviary* (Eng. trans. 1912), gives the text of the letter in full, pp. 223-9.

see from the *Ordo Romanus XIII*A,¹ which dates from this time. But a comparison between this *Ordo* and the slightly more primitive *Ordo XIV* is instructive. The latter regulates the readings as follows:

Week before Lent to week before Easter:

Pentateuch, Josue, Judges.

Week before Easter:

Isaias, "quod de passione domini continent", and Lamentations.

Easter to Pentecost:

Catholic epistles, Acts, Apocalypse.

Summer to mid-autumn:

Kings and Chronicles.

Up to beginning of December:

"Libri Salomonis et mulierum atque Macchabeorum et Tobii".

Before Christmas:

Isaias, Jeremias and Daniel.

Epiphany to ides of February:

Ezechiel, Minor prophets and Job.

"Psalmi omni tempore, evangelium et apostolum similiter."

In this, we see that the order is roughly that of the Bible itself—Pentateuch, historical books, didactic books and prophets—beginning with Genesis in March because that was the beginning of the old Roman year.² This order is interrupted twice: first during Passiontide with the reading of Isaias, and the *Ordo* itself explains why—"quod de passione domini continent"; the same sort of reason accounts for the second interruption, after Easter, with readings from the New Testament—

¹ I quote the *Ordines Romani* according to the edition of Michel Andrieu: "*Les Ordines Romani du Haut Moyen Age*", Vols. 1-3. Louvain, 1931-51. *Ordo XIII*A is dealt with in volume 2, pp. 475-88. *Ordo XIV* is in volume 3, pp. 25-41. Of the relations between the two he says (vol. 3, p. 35): "... l'*Ordo XIII*A est bien plus cohérent et plus complet. Il révèle incontestablement un progrès".

² Some of the details of this arrangement are unusual. It is not merely that Ruth and Esdras are omitted—the former may be counted with Judges, as was not infrequently done, and the latter may be included with Chronicles, as Isidore, for example, suggests. But for the rest, the order is not that of the Vulgate, nor is that given in the list of books of the Bible which precedes *Ordo XIV* in the MSS. Perhaps the best explanation is that it is not meant to give the order in detail but only the general sequence and division.

"omnia nova". (Ordo XIV actually reads: "epistolas apostolorum et actus et apocalipsin"; but this is probably not meant to be accurate, and no doubt they began with Acts, as we do today and as was the custom in the time of St Augustine. The appropriateness of this is obvious, not merely because of the symbolic significance pointed out by the fathers, but also from the point of view of the practical value of instruction for the newly-baptized.)

The same reasons, then, will explain the arrangement of books in Ordo XIII A, so far as the two agree. But they do not agree entirely. Now, it will be noted that according to Ordo XIV, St Paul was to be read, like the psalms and the gospels, all the year round. But this meant that they would be read several times in the course of a year; so the feeling grew that it would be better to give them a place in the ordinary cycle of scripture readings for the whole year, putting a homily on the gospel in their place in the third nocturn. The most suitable place for the epistles was found to be after Epiphany (perhaps Rom. i, 1-3, suggested this: "... the gospel of God which He had promised before by His prophets, in the holy scriptures, concerning His Son, who was made to Him of the seed of David according to the flesh . . ."); this meant displacing the prophets which had formerly been read in this place; so the preceding books were squeezed up—Kings and Chronicles stopping in August instead of going on till November, the didactic books fitted into August-October, and the prophets allowed the month of November, leaving Isaias for Advent and Jeremias for Holy Week; both of these were appropriate, and it helped to relieve the pressure.

This is the arrangement of Ordo XIII A, and this is as we have it today. We have seen that two factors come into play: first, the purely factual element, the order in which the books occur in the Bible; and secondly, the symbolic element, the appropriateness of certain readings for certain seasons of the liturgical year. On this second point, it is interesting to read the account of a pilgrimage to the Holy Land by a certain lady Sylvia, in the fourth century.¹ We cannot deduce anything cer-

¹ *S. Sylviae Aquitanae peregrinatio ad loca sancta*. Ed. Gamurrini and de Rossi. Rome, 1888.

tain from her account concerning the normal reading of Scripture in the office; but she does dwell with delight on the beauty of the ceremonial carried out on the great feasts of the year, on the actual site connected with the feast and with the reading of the appropriate passage of Scripture: at Bethany, for instance, before Holy Week, with the reading of John xii; the celebration of Palm Sunday on Mount Olivet, with the reading of the gospel account of the incident; and so on. This may be significant because on the one hand this custom seems new to her, and on the other hand Pope Damasus is credited by tradition with having influenced the Roman office by the introduction, through St Jerome, of elements from the Jerusalem liturgy. But, in any case, it was natural enough that certain passages of Scripture should come to be associated with certain feasts; and again we are fortunate in being able to witness, in the *Ordo Romanus*, some important steps in the fixation of this tradition. *Ordo XIV*, which, it will be recalled, is more primitive and probably earlier than *Ordo XIII*, merely gives the order of books, adding a note for Holy Week that those passages of *Isaia*s applicable to the Passion are to be read. Now *Ordo XIII A* gives the actual verse with which to begin the *lectiones* for Christmas and Easter; and though it has nothing specific for the *triduum sacrum*, one family of manuscripts of this text does give the readings for the second and third nocturns: in all cases, the passages are the same as in our present breviary. Only the first verse is given in each case; for the Christmas lessons, *Ordo XIII A* adds: "Et istae tres lectiones non terminantur, sed sicut voluerit prior cui proprium est." It is, in fact, well known that the reading was originally continued "ad nutum praesidentis"; in the time of Charlemagne, this was often the emperor himself, who signified his will by a cough or a grunt. The system had obvious inconveniences, so it was found useful to mark both the beginning and the end of the lessons. And this is what we find in *Ordo XIII B*,¹ for Christmas, Epiphany and Holy Week. The following chart will enable us to compare the positions and the developments, with relation to our present breviary:

¹ According to Andrieu, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, pp. 491-5, *Ordo XIII B* is a re-edition of *XIII A*, dating from the end of the eighth century or the beginning of the ninth.

<i>Ordo XIII A</i>	<i>Ordo XIII B</i>	<i>Breviary of 1562</i>	<i>Breviary of 1952</i>
<i>Christmas :</i>			
Is. 9.1	Is. 9.1-10.4	Is. 9.1-5	Is. 9.1-6
40.1	40.1-41.20	40.1-6	40.1-8
52.1	52.1-15	52.1-5	52.1-6
<i>Epiphany :</i>			
Is. 55.1	Is. 55.1-13	Is. 55.1-5	Is. 55.1-4
60.1	60.1-22	60.1-6	60.1-6
61.10	61.10-64.4	61.10-62.1a	61.10-62.1
<i>Holy Week :</i>			
Feria V:—Lam.	1.1-2.8	Lam. 1.1-2.8	Lam. 1.1-14
„ VI:—	2.9-3.22	2.8-16	2.8-15
Sabbato:—	3.22-end	3.22-36	3.22-30
		and 5.1-8	and 4.1-6
			and 5.1-11

The continuity of the tradition is obvious; but the main thing which strikes us is the shortening of the lessons which has taken place between the ninth century and the sixteenth. This is not the place to go into the history of this abbreviation,¹ but one may summarily outline it thus. Many reasons—increasing mobility of the clergy as well as decreasing fervour—led to the compression of the office into one easily portable volume, a *breviarium itinerarium*. This involved abbreviation, and it was the scripture readings which were found most susceptible of curtailment. This form of office was particularly suited for the use of the papal curia, which was especially mobile at this period; and likewise for the new order of wandering friars founded by St Francis. The Friars Minor, in fact, according to Ralph of Tongres, entitle the office-book which they use when travelling: “secundum consuetudinem Romanae Curiae”. And, finally, the Franciscan Pope Nicholas III adopts this breviary as the official office of the Roman Church.

If we look now at our own breviary in slightly more detail, we find that the selection of the actual passages to be read is regulated by the same principles which we have seen governing the arrangement of the scripture occurring as a whole: the simple, basic fact of the order in which they occur in the canon; appropriateness; and now, brevity. Let us take a random selec-

¹ A discussion of the subject will be found in Bäumer's history of the breviary: French trans., *Histoire du Breviaire*, 1905; Vol. 2, pp. 1-33.

tion of passages from various parts of the breviary. First, the first Sunday of Advent. The passage selected is, naturally, the beginning of the book appointed for this time, *Isaias*: the first nine verses are read, which is a complete unit (some authors would say that v. 9 belongs to the next section, but it is doubtful; whereas it is certain that v. 10 does belong to another section); and it is read in sections of three verses to a lesson. This might seem obvious and straightforward, until we compare it with the 1562 breviary; there the nocturn ends at v. 13a, which is by no means a natural division; the first lesson also ends at v. 5b, and the second goes from 5c to 8: one has the impression of a completely arbitrary division. It cannot even claim consistency of length, as the next lessons, ending at 23a (again interrupting the sense of a verse in the middle), cover only ten verses. On the other hand, the passage read on the following Sunday (second Sunday of Advent) is again of 13 verses; so perhaps the rule is that there shall be thirteen verses on Sundays, measured mathematically without regard to sense. Our own breviary does not make any such distinction between Sundays and ferias, at last not obviously; also, it has put an end to the process of abbreviation; if the passage for the Sunday just quoted is shorter than that of the previous breviary, the Monday office on the other hand is longer. The rule seems to have been not to shorten the lessons any further, but, while keeping an average of about ten verses, to select a passage which is a unity.

As Advent goes on, both breviaries skip more and more quickly through *Isaias*; no doubt this is a relic of the days when the whole book had to be read (if necessary "*a capite repetendo*" as one old ordinal says). An interesting illustration of the principles behind the selection is seen in the lesson for Tuesday of the fourth week of Advent. We begin with *Isaias* xlii, 1-7, which is a description of the "*Servus Domini*"; then omitting vv. 8 and 9, we go on to 10-13. This last is a unity, a canticle of thanksgiving; vv. 8 and 9 refer to the power of God in contrast to idols, and are not very relevant to the theme of the season; so they are omitted and the length of the whole passage is reduced to ten verses.

From 29 December till Septuagesima we read the epistles of

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St Paul. Here, the rule seems to have been mainly to cover the ground. During the octave of the Epiphany, for instance, we read the first few verses of chapters ix, xii, xiii, xiv and xv of Romans: between ten and sixteen verses of each, the actual amount depending on the natural unity of the sense. But even the selection of the chapters to be read is not haphazard; in the first week after the Epiphany, for example, we read 1 Corinthians: the beginning of chapter i, the beginning of chapter ii; then we omit the next two: why? The whole epistle has to be finished in the week; therefore something has to be omitted; now chapter iii deals with more or less the same subject as chapter ii—no matter who preaches or how it is preached, it is God who brings the results; chapter iv, “Sic nos existimet homo ut ministros Christi”, is read on the Common of Apostles; therefore if anything has to be left out it may well be these two chapters. We continue then with chapters v, vi, vii and viii; then having only two days left, the sermon on charity in chapter xiii obviously has preference; and we finish on Saturday with the last chapter of the epistle, xvi.

The same principles can be seen in the rest of the epistles. So, in the fourth week after the Epiphany we read quickly through four epistles; on Tuesday and Wednesday, we dispose of Colossians. The first eighteen verses of the epistle are read first, but on Tuesday we do not read the beginning of another chapter, but the end of chapter iii and beginning of iv. If we read chapter iii, we see that the whole chapter is indeed beautiful: “If you be risen with Christ, seek the things that are above . . .”; but the beginning of it is especially appropriate to Easter, and we do in fact have iii, 1-17, as the lesson of the first nocturn of *Dominica in Albis*; so we might well read here the more practical portion of it, from v. 12 onwards: “Put ye on, therefore, as the elect of God, holy and beloved, the bowels of mercy, benignity. . . .”

From the beginning of the Roman year, in March, till about a week before Easter, the whole of the Heptateuch used to be read (see above, *Ordos XIV and XIII A*). In the corresponding period now, from Septuagesima onwards, we read only Genesis and one lesson from Exodus. Of course, readings from the rest of the Pentateuch do turn up in other parts of the office;

but we cannot help feeling grateful, if slightly apologetic for the feeling, that we do not have to absorb large quantities of the legal code as part of our daily fare.

What is liable to strike us most when we begin Genesis on Septuagesima Sunday is the immense length of the lesson. But actually this is deceptive; this first day has 26 verses, but the next has 14, the next has only 9. It is true that the average length does seem to be greater; but the principles we have already deciphered still seem to be in operation: without being impossibly long, the passage is a unity and is chosen from the most important parts of the book. Obviously, then, we are going to read a good deal of the first few chapters; obviously, also, we must read the account of creation as a unity; and if it takes 26 verses—well, it is not entirely beyond our strength. The story then continues almost without omission; though we do notice with interest that we leave out ii, 11–14, the strange geography of the rivers of paradise; and that the genealogical list between Adam and Noe is shortened by the omission of v, 6–14. Similarly, the account of the flood which we read in the week of Septuagesima is not just a transcription of Genesis vi ff., but is composed of judiciously selected passages; the omissions are not exactly what the critics would recognize as doublets, but are certainly details which do not help the story along in any way.

It may therefore be some encouragement to the priest as he comes back each day to the scripture occurring to realize that the choice of these particular verses was purposeful. But this consideration may well raise yet another question, another aspect of the question "Why?" It is the question one often hears as we go on through the books of Kings after Pentecost: why this insistence on stories of the bloodthirsty feuds of a half-civilized tribe? why so much history?

One answer we may give is obvious: this is the proportion of the Bible itself; we read history for about half the year, because about half the Bible is composed of history. But I think the Church has retained, or if anything stressed, this proportion, because they are surely the parts of scripture which are easiest to understand, and the most interesting. History may never reach the heights of poetry or spirituality which we find in the

prophets; but neither have they the same passages of desperate obscurity; while the apophthegms of Proverbs pall on us much sooner than the moving escapades of David. And not only is it easier—it is more useful. If history is philosophy taught by examples, then this is true above all of biblical history. It is full of *loci communes* for the preacher—stories which have in fact nourished the faith and devotion of the Church in all ages.

Finally, there is perhaps the most essential reason why the Church wishes us to read this history. It is because it is our history. From the protoevangelium to the gospel of St John, it is all the history of the Church. The New Testament is a climax, a fulfilment, not an isolated event; the roof of a building whose foundations are laid far back in Genesis. For the first generation of Christians, Scripture meant the Old Testament; and it was meditation on this, in the light of their experience of the living Word, that enabled them to see the trend of God's plan, to construct the theology of the Church. But the Church is a living organism, continually developing; the plan is not yet completed: and it is by continual recollection of our origins that we are intended to deepen our appreciation of the mystery which has been prepared through the long ages past, for the praise of the glory of His grace.¹

L. JOHNSTON

THOMAS MERTON AND HIS CRITICS

AN ESSAY IN INTERPRETATION

TO one surveying the scene at a distance, from a remote island in the Hebrides, there is something profoundly disquieting in the coincidence of a Vocations Exhibition at Olympia with the kind of controversy over the very fundamentals of religious life which invariably follows the publication of a book or an article by Thomas Merton. If their elders are divided concerning the nature and value of the religious state, what

¹ Cf. Eph. i, 4-11.

reaction may we expect from our growing youth as they consider the bewildering treasures of opportunity spread so enticingly before them, a true *embarras de richesses*? For there are clearly some among their elders who have their doubts.

It is said openly in some quarters, in France for example, that the religious orders are today a spent force; that a great gulf has appeared between the secular and the ecclesiastical, and the religious orders that might have bridged the gap have failed. In Germany Walter Dirks¹ thinks the great religious orders arose in response to a particular need of an age; that their day has passed as great forces in the world. He concedes the possibility of a continued limited sphere of usefulness if they return to their origins. Discussion and criticism in Great Britain are not so marked, but an uneasy feeling does exist that there is something wanting, and this may account in part for the lack of vocations. E. B. Young's letter to *The Tablet* of 6 June, criticizing Thomas Merton's article in the previous two issues, and suggesting that life in the world may be a more excellent way, gives expression to the feeling.

This is, however, only part of a wider question, which is being examined today with renewed interest, the question of the relationship between the material and spiritual, the secular and religious, the natural and supernatural. On the one hand the increasing "secularization", "verweltlichung" of modern life is deplored: but there is a brighter side; the secularization is being met by a spiritualization of what we too often tend to regard as the purely secular. The layman has, in fact, come of age in the spiritual sense and is conscious of himself as a force and a potential leader in religious affairs. M. Maritain foresaw some years ago² the emergence of a new force in the world, humanism transfused by the divine, not just existing on sufferance side by side with it. There are already many indications that this is now happening: the rise of the lay theologian, lay institutes and other lay communities, lay apostolate groups, the suggestion that the full monastic life should no longer be a closed shop for clerics but open again to the layman, not least the exhortation of the laity by the present Holy Father to a

¹ Of the Frankfurter Hefte, in his recent book: *Die Antwort der Mönche*.

² *True Humanism*.

THOMAS MERTON AND HIS CRITICS 673

fuller active participation in the liturgical life of the Church. All this has been underlined by the definition of the dogma of the Assumption.

The question here, placed in such a context, is whether the monasteries today have a new task comparable with their role in the past. Can they assist the layman to full spiritual maturity as once they helped to bring him to spiritual rebirth? Or are they such backwaters, so isolated from the current of events, as is suggested? Is their life essentially different from that of the ordinary layman, or may it rather serve as a model and a guide for it, the normal monastic community as simply a concentrated effort at establishing the normal Christian life? The facts seem to be as follows.

To many laymen, such as Mr Young, Thomas Merton does undoubtedly represent the "purely-contemplative" religious at his spikiest. It has further been suggested by reviewers that Merton is at the most spiky stage of his spiritual development. Reviews of his most recent work, *The Sign of Jonas*, suggest that he is coming round a little. If I remember rightly—I am compelled to speak from memory—he once compared the world beyond the cloister to a "garbage-can", or words to that effect. He now finds it "no longer so wicked after all". All this is to the good; but I fear the "compassion" for it he now feels may irritate Mr Young just as much, because what is resented, with some, not complete, justification, is his assumption of spiritual superiority or apparent spiritual exclusiveness. Yet they do not really differ nearly as much as they think.

Man before the Fall had, by Grace, a knowledge of God and of created things somewhere in between that of the blessed in heaven and the knowledge men have now in their present state.¹ By the natural mode man obtained knowledge from created things through the senses; by the supernatural mode he already possessed this knowledge directly from God independently of the senses. Knowledge he obtained here was an imperfect form of something he already had in a higher way. To speak more generally, his experience here, his mental and bodily activity, all his human relationships, were seen as reflections in the stuff of this world of his higher experience, of his

¹ So St Thomas. Cf. especially *S.T. I.*, Q. 94 and the tract *de angelis*.

life in God; the material was a symbol of the spiritual. All the reality of the material is received from the higher reality of the spiritual.

Thus material, sensible things could never be a distraction from higher things, but carried the mind on beyond them. One mode of knowledge could never impede the other; they proceeded concurrently: action, in the modern terminology, never hindered contemplation. Intense "activity" could be combined with intense "contemplation". Even the first man had indeed an obligation of activity, though without the degree of fatigue that now may accompany it; he had to till, dress and tend the Garden, to "subdue the earth".

Through incorporation into Christ, the "Second Adam", by baptism, all this has been radically restored; man has been readmitted to the Garden. But he is now, in consequence of his Fall, so immersed in material, sensible things, his attention so riveted on them, that it is only by a great effort that he can even become gradually aware of the existence of his higher mode of knowledge, so-called "contemplative", "mystical" knowledge. It is necessary that material things be, for a time, forcibly taken from him. He may do this deliberately himself—as Thomas Merton—or life may do it for him. However it is done it involves sooner or later the total and utter renunciation, at least in desire, of all things.¹ He has died to all with Christ in baptism; this now has to be translated into the terms of his whole life. Yet the dying with Christ is also a rising with Christ to a transfigured world.² This has been called "growing up in Christ", through the circumstances of life that have been deliberately planned to that end; the lost harmony of the faculties is gradually restored. We may observe, for instance, in the saints, that the "active liver" attain to contemplation, while the "contemplatives" are able to add activity to their contemplation. In the intermediate stage of becoming it is possible for some individuals to contemplate more when they are active than when they are "contemplative", so to speak.

The vital point is this. Though these two modes of knowledge, of experience, do differ essentially—the one is by nature,

¹ Cf. Luke xiv, 33.

² Matt. x, 39, and xix, 29.

the other by grace—yet we do not exercise them separately. The higher experience is concurrent with the lower, within the same framework, the same shape, as it were, yet recognized as going far beyond it and immeasurably transcending it. (It is precisely the consequent sense of adventure, of all things here expanding and opening up on to whole uncharted worlds awaiting exploration, that has inspired Merton, as it did the first Cistercians, with something of the gay abandon of the knight errant.) To speak again in more general terms, it is in the actual exercise of human, secular affairs that the baptized Christian exercises and experiences the higher life of Grace, that he “contemplates”. Only—here’s the rub—in his fallen state, without some measure of calm, of solitude of mind and habitual, deliberate withdrawal at times from the things of this world he may never learn to see beyond the immediate, sensible outer covering, so to speak, of his experience, not see beyond the end of his nose, not see the wood for the trees. He may even increase in Grace far beyond others who are considered “contemplatives”, without becoming conscious of his own contemplation.

Thus the “contemplative” life is intended for Mr Young just as much as for Merton. Merton cannot contemplate without the things of this world and Young cannot use the things of this world as a Christian without contemplating. If Mr Young should be handicapped by family ties in—to use his own word—the “sprint” for the Heavenly Jerusalem, yet complete faithfulness to his present obligations will lead him to breast the tape level with, possibly even ahead of, his “purely-contemplative” fellow-Christian Fr Thomas Merton.

In fact, the sharp distinction between “contemplative” and “active” arose only in modern times and is very misleading. Every religious order or congregation, for instance, is tending to contemplation in so far as it is Christian, and every individual, lay or religious. So, whether we regard the progress to the Heavenly Jerusalem as a sprint or just an obstacle race, it is certain that we shall all have roughly the same hurdles to cross. But perhaps Fr Merton could help by emphasizing the points of contact rather than the differences.

Alas! Black Monk reviewers of their Trappist *confrère’s* work are occasionally marked by a slight acerbity of tone, provoked

apparently by the (perhaps unconscious) implication that their own (sometimes too great) concern in the affairs of the world requires an *apologia pro vita sua*. Yet here again, how impossible it is for any human being to encompass the whole truth, or be wholly right.

The *normal* monastery,¹ to which all approximate in a greater or less degree, is an image of the Church in general, a complete, self-sufficient entity, a little world, a microcosm. It is thus "contemplative" in the sense explained. But it contains a cross-section of men of all types and abilities and character, both "contemplative" and "active" in the modern terminology but all on the same course,² since good will is the only qualification for entry. Being self-supporting, and compelled in any case to have work suitable for all types of ability, all the ordinary basic activities of human beings are represented here. The married state is wanting, but other people's children are traditionally found here in greater or smaller numbers. The real visible contribution of the monastic order to the world during the formative period of western civilization was precisely to present this spectacle of a whole, fully-integrated ordinary human life on a scale sufficiently small for all the elements to be seen in their due order and proportion. The direct service of God in the Church's liturgical worship is the centre of it, through which man is reintroduced to the lost Paradise. The rest leads to it or flows from it, so arranged that it can actually be seen habitually how all sensible expression or material things are symbols of the divine, so that the whole of life becomes a service of God and "contemplation", in which nothing can ever again be "common or unclean", having been taken up and renewed in Christ our Head. It was communities of this kind, small, simple, content with the bare minimum, that made their contribution to the civilization of Europe; the small commando group set down in enemy territory and left to dig in, with a fair chance, like other commando groups, of being wiped out first.

But monastic communities, like all human institutions, tend to relax, especially when there is nothing to inspire a special

¹ I use "monk" in the strict sense, of the monastic order that is, comprising Benedictine, Cistercian, Carthusian and minor branches.

² Merton, in *Elected Silence*, finds few "contemplatives" in his own monastery.

effort: *facilis descensus Avernus*. There is always the danger of losing their coherence and centre by too much intercourse with the larger world; there is the opposite danger of settling down to a rather narrow, shallow, carefree existence, easier in some ways than that of the majority of their fellow-Christians in the world and at a lower level than many, through ignorance of the heroism to be found outside. There is also the danger of developing one element of the life at the expense of others and of losing the due proportion and orientation in this way.

The different forms of monastic observance are to be understood as the continually-recurring effort to return to the norm when this had been lost, with the inevitable tendency, when correcting a lack of balance, to go at first a little too far in the opposite direction, until finally the reform itself is relaxed and, for a brief moment, the norm is restored. Thus too much absorption in the affairs of the world was met by a too-rigid seclusion; undue development of some one work—schools, for instance—by their complete abandonment; too much talking by perpetual silence; no manual work at all by rather too much; the tendency to become a learned body by a “studied illiteracy”, and so on. So the Trappist reform went far beyond, in physical austerity, anything St. Benedict intended.¹

The point is that the very ebb and flow of monastic observance shows an instinctive witness to the *norm*. The norm has preserved for posterity a pattern of human life with all its elements so mixed that they once again serve their original purpose. Yet, if it is to serve again the purpose of a pattern, it is likely that this will come in the future from the small groups already emerging rather than from the great modern abbeys with their wide commitments, established interests and security.

The mind insists on returning to the thought of these children engrossed in contemplation of the spiritual athletes of Olympia. Do they know all this, how the material and spiritual, the seen and the unseen meet and are united? Did their Christian education teach them? Or has there yet been a Christian

¹ There is no indication that St. Benedict intended his communities to be specially dedicated to vicarious suffering or to penance, though these are elements in all Christian life.

education? Our present system is derived from a culture that arose when the gulf between the spiritual and material, the natural and supernatural, had not yet been bridged, reconciled in Christ. Perhaps the elements in it need reshuffling and regrouping? The new light thrown on the Church's sacramental system by the liturgical revival suggests the direction in which we should look for the solution.

DOM DENYS RUTLEDGE

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

MIXED MARRIAGE—NULLITY THROUGH INSINCERE GUARANTEES

Can you suggest an explanation of a statement in *The Times*, from the Roman correspondent, 15 June 1953, to the effect that a marriage had been declared invalid because the non-Catholic did not keep his promise to allow the children of the marriage to be brought up in the Catholic faith? (P.)

REPLY

The Times, 15 June 1953. Another marriage was declared void because the husband, a non-Catholic married to a Catholic, did not keep his promise to allow the children of the marriage to be brought up in the Catholic faith.

A.A.S., 1953, p. 334 (Causae quae in Tribunali Sacrae Romanae Rotae actae sunt anno 1952 . . .) XXXII DETROITEN. Nullitatis matrimonii ob non adimpletam conditionem. . . . Constat de nullitate matrimonii in casu . . . diei 19 Februarii.

Monitor Ecclesiasticus, 1952, p. 590. DETROITEN, Nullitatis matrimonii (Fallow-Binzit) c.R.P.D. Augusto Fideticchi, Ponente. n.8. Momentosa et procul dubio est praesens causa, cuius caput nullitatis rarissime recurrit. . . . n.11. Aliud quod

condicioni subiecit Silvestra fuit promissio et quidem sincera et ex animo facta cautiones ab Ecclesiae lege statutas adimpletum iri. . . . n. 12. Hanc condicionem ultra et praeter legem non semel sponso clare atque aperte declaravit. . . . Condicionem renovavit occasione traditionis annuli sponsalitii, coramque testibus. . . . n. 24. Quam ob rem tenuerunt Patres, toto causae complexu diligenter rimato, actricem veram condicionem sui consensus matrimonialis validitati apposuisse, quae verificata non fuit. . . . 19 Februarii 1952. . . .

i. The decisions of the Roman Rota, not normally published until ten years have elapsed, are occasionally printed in the canonical journals, such as *Monitor Ecclesiasticus* or *Ephemerides Iuris Ecclesiastici*. From the diocese named (Detroit) and from the date of the judgement, it is as certain as anything can be that *Monitor Ecclesiasticus* has printed the main part of the judgement mentioned as n.XXXII amongst the causes decided by the Rota in 1952. But it is not equally certain that it was this judgement that *The Times* correspondent had in mind. Even if it was some other similar judgement amongst the causes (188) decided in 1952, there can be only one explanation of the words used in relation to "mixed marriage".

ii. The explanation is that the Catholic party put a condition determining that consent would not be given to the marriage contract unless the non-Catholic was favourably inclined towards Catholicism and seriously intended to be bound by the promises and guarantees always required by canon law in mixed marriages. The impediment is not diriment and therefore, if a dispensation were invalidly granted, the validity of the marriage would be unaffected. A condition, however, could have a nullifying effect if it were proved, as it was in the present case, to exist. The circumstances are unusual, indeed, but there have been similar cases in the past. To state that the marriage was declared invalid because the non-Catholic did not keep his promises is a careless way of describing the situation, besides being utterly at variance with the Catholic doctrine and law of marriage.

iii. The law and its application to the facts of the case occupy eight pages of the *Monitor Ecclesiasticus*, and much of the judgement has been omitted. The reader is referred to this Roman

journal for all the details. One aspect, however, seems important enough to discuss very briefly. It may be asked whether it is not true that in all mixed marriages the Catholic party gives a conditioned consent; and some may be tempted to think that it would be a good thing if the Catholic party were always advised, as a matter of course, to limit consent in this way. The answer to the first point is that it is patently untrue to suppose that all mixed marriages are conditioned contracts: the Catholic party being assured of the promises being given normally contracts marriage without introducing any condition whatever. To the second point the answer is that it would be gravely wrong to advise parties in this sense: the Ordinary's permission is required before limiting the contract by any condition.¹ It is unlikely that permission would ever be given, and if it were, the parties would be forbidden by the natural law to use their marriage rights until the condition was verified.

1952 ENCHIRIDION INDULGENTIARUM

In addition to the two modifications recorded in this journal, 1953, XXXVIII, p. 159, are there any others since discovered, and of sufficient importance to warrant purchasing the new book? (X.)

REPLY

There is no modification of sufficient importance, in our view, to require priests who already have the book issued in 1950 to purchase the new one. Usually it appears in a new edition about every ten years, which is a reasonable interval. We are indebted to other reviewers, and especially to Dr Bugnini in *Ephemerides Liturgicae*, 1953, p. 190,² for the following list of modifications which include the two already noted. The numerals all refer to the 1950 edition unless otherwise stated.

¹ *Sacrosanctum*, n.9, and *Appendix*, n.17.

² Readers may notice that, owing to a printing error, lines 11 and 12 are misplaced; they should appear between lines 14 and 15.

N. 439 is followed in the new edition by N. 439 *bis* giving the prayer "O Vergine Immacolata" composed by the Holy Father on the occasion of the definition of our Lady's Assumption, A.A.S., 1951, XLIII, p. 870, with the indulgences then attached: three years for each recitation and a plenary indulgence on the usual conditions if repeated daily for a month.

N. 772 is now, with the same number, devoted to a prayer, also composed by the Holy Father, to be recited by those engaged in Catholic Action. From *S. Paen.*, 17 November 1951, the indulgence is 500 days with a plenary indulgence as above. N. 772 is in the new book N. 772 *bis*.

N. 319 has the additional invocation "Regina in coelum assumpta".

N. 395, cataloguing Rosary indulgences, now reads as follows under (a): "Fidelibus, si tertiam Rosarii partem devote recitaverint, conceditur: *Indulgentia quinque annorum*; *Indulgentia plenaria*, suetis conditionibus, si quotidie per integrum mensem idem praestiterint (Bulla *Ea quae ex fidelium*, Sixti Pp. IV, 12 Maii 1479; S.C. Indulg., 29 aug. 1899; S.Paen.Ap., 18 mart. 1932 et 22 ian. 1952)."

To NN. 378, 490, 518, a bracketed phrase is added: "ex Missali Rom."

In N. 444 the last verse of the hymn now reads: "Patri, simulque Filio/Tibique, Sancte Spiritus/Sicut fuit, sit iugiter/Saeculum per omne gloria. AMEN."

The prayer in N. 576 has "sanctae" in place of "beatae".

In N. 750 the inscription now reads: "Preces in Missali Romano sacerdotibus propositae post Missae celebrationem vel iuxta rubricas recitandae vel pro eorum opportunitate dicendae."

ALIENATION

Is there any agreement about the amount in English paper money which corresponds to the ten thousand gold francs fixed by the Sacred Consistorial Congregation, 13 July 1951, beyond which recourse to the Holy See is necessary when property is to be alienated? (X.)

REPLY

S.C. Consist., 13 July 1951; *THE CLERGY REVIEW*, 1952, XXXVII, p. 54. Quapropter S.D.N. . . . benigne decernere dignatus est ut, perdurantibus praesentibus adiunctis et ad nutum S. Sedis, ad eandem Sedem Apostolicam sit recurrendum quotiescunque agatur de pecuniae summa quae decem millia francorum seu libellarum aureorum excedat.

This decree set out to define the amount in gold francs which in the Code, canons 534, §1, and 1532, §1, 2, is determined to be "summa triginta millium francorum seu libellarum", a definition which was urgently required owing to the fluctuation in the value of the currency in different countries. The definition was not, however, wholly successful, since various estimates were made of the relative value of gold and paper currency; moreover, some canonists were of the opinion that the amount mentioned in the Code referred to gold francs, an opinion which, it appeared, could no longer be held after the Consistorial decree, 13 July 1951, since the document which fixes the amount at ten thousand gold francs is in terms of making some concession owing to present circumstances.

Monitor Ecclesiasticus, 1953, p. 109, contains the following statement with reference to the document of 31 July: "... Non una fuit interpretatio praefati valoris aurei. Ne igitur in re tanti momenti, et ad ipsam actus validitatem requisita, dubium exurgere posset, Sancta Sedes ita nunc constabilire censet quinam sit rei ecclesisticae aliendae valor chartaceus, ultra quam in singulis Nationibus requiratur licentia ipsius S. Sedis". The amounts fixed for the paper currency of various countries follows, amongst which is for Great Britain the sum of £2000. Adapting this to the other sums mentioned in the Code it follows that the one thousand francs of canon 1352, §2, is one thirtieth of £2000, roughly £67.

The above is not printed in *Monitor Ecclesiasticus* expressly as the text of a document from the Sacred Congregation, but we have heard from other reliable sources of this fixing of the amount, which may now be taken as definitive. It should be noted, however, that the Apostolic Delegates usually have faculties for doubling or tripling this sum.

OCTOBER DEVOTIONS

A layman who makes it his invariable custom to follow Mass with a missal, finds himself during October in a church where during that month the rosary is recited publicly during Mass. Previously he had always been accustomed to the recitation of the rosary before the exposed Sanctissimum in the evening. Is he justified in ignoring the public recitation of the rosary during Mass so that he may continue with his custom of following the Mass with his missal? If reproached could he justify his action by appealing to *Rub. Gen. Missalis*, XVI, which he understands to imply that listening to the audible parts of Mass (rather than listening to the rosary) is the ideal way of attending Mass—*ut quae leguntur intelligant?* (Z.)

REPLY

i. In communities such as schools, where the congregation is bound to observe the arrangements made for public worship by the superior, those present at Mass during which the October devotions take place must obey the superior and take part in the devotions by reciting the rosary and other prayers.

ii. Elsewhere, say in a parish church, any person assisting at Mass may follow his bent and use a missal instead of joining in the rosary. The individual right may also be used if, let us suppose, the parish priest wants the congregation to answer Mass with the server, following the method known as Dialogue Mass: any of the congregation may elect not to fall in with the parish priest's wishes, and to recite privately the rosary instead.

iii. In our view the October devotions are still of obligation, particularly in places where the local *Ordo* contains a reference to them. The practice, however, is falling into disuse, and will eventually cease altogether unless the appropriate ecclesiastical authority intervenes. One of the objections felt by many, including perhaps our correspondent, was that the practice may result in a duel, as it were, between the celebrant following the rubrics in reciting Mass *clara voce*, and the congregation reciting the

rosary in a possibly still louder voice: this unhappy conflict should be avoided by the celebrant using a low voice, as he is authorized to do rather than disturb other celebrants in the church, or when some other function such as a sermon is in progress.

Some of our readers may be able to produce arguments showing that, even apart from custom, we are no longer bound to have these devotions during October.

POSTURE WHEN RECEIVING HOLY COMMUNION

Some weeks ago a solemn Mass from the Abbey of St Denis was televised during a week of Anglo-French co-operation, and at the Communion all present, laity and clergy, approached the altar in pairs and received Holy Communion standing. Is this more correct than our own practice? (R.)

REPLY

Roman Ritual, V, i, 3: *Ideo populum saepius admonebit, qua praeparatione et quanta animi religione ac pietate, et humili etiam corporis habitu ad tam divinum Sacramentum debeat accedere: ut . . . omnes . . . utroque genu flexo Sacramentum humiliter adorent ac reverenter suscipiant, viri, quantum fieri potest, a mulieribus separati.*

ii, 4: . . . sed primo, si Sacerdotibus, vel aliis ex Clero danda sit communio, iis ad gradus Altaris genuflexis praebeatur, vel, si commode fieri possit, intra sepimentum Altaris sint a laicis distincti. Sacerdotes vero et Diaconi communicantes utantur stola coloris albi vel eiusdem coloris ac Sacerdos qui ministrat.

The common liturgical law as described in the above extract is always correctly observed in this country. A different procedure at the Abbey of St Denis on the above occasion may be due, perhaps, to a local custom which the Ordinary of the place thinks should not be disturbed.¹ Notwithstanding the strong feeling amongst some liturgists that local customs in the per-

¹ Canons 5 and 25.

formance of the divine offices are not to be tolerated, it is certain that they may be, though admittedly the conditions are not so easily verified as in some other customs against the common law.¹

Another suggestion is that the common practice on this exceptional occasion was changed. The whole ceremony was carried out with great dignity and was most impressive to watch: the ecclesiastic responsible may have thought it more dignified to communicate standing, because more in accordance with ancient usage. There are innumerable indications that standing was the earlier custom, since kneeling was regarded as a sign of grief or penitence.² It is not permitted, however, to restore ancient liturgical practices at will, and the Holy Father has some strong things to say against "archaeologisms" in *Mediator Dei*.³ We must conclude, therefore, that if the common liturgical law on this occasion was changed without even the justification of custom, an indult had been obtained for the purpose.

PAPAL BLESSING BY RADIO

Occasionally, as at a national Eucharistic Congress, the Papal Blessing with plenary indulgence is received at the concluding Mass. I maintain that all ecclesiastics on the sanctuary, except bishops, should be kneeling during its reception, even though certain amongst them, such as canons, normally receive a blessing in an inclining position. Is this correct? (M. C.)

REPLY

For the blessing and indulgence by radio the reader is referred to a decree of the Sacred Penitentiary, 15 June 1939.⁴

The ceremonial attached thereto is for the Congregation of Rites to determine, and we are not aware of any directions on this point, though quite likely some have been given. The only commentator we have found to give an opinion is Nabuco who,

¹ Cf. Dr M. Noirot in *Revue de Droit Canonique*, 1952, p. 99.

² Villien, *The History and Liturgy of the Sacraments*, p. 101.

³ C.T.S., nn. 65-8.

⁴ THE CLERGY REVIEW, 1939, XVII, p. 356.

rightly in our view, applies to the radio papal blessing the rules observed when the Holy Father is physically present: "Si Summus Pontifex velit per radiophonum apostolicam benedictionem, finita missa impertire, populus hac de re certior fiat, et dum Papa populo et clero benedicit, stabunt inclinati S.R.E. Cardinales et episcopi licet nondum consecrati; praelati, abbates et canonici flexis nitentur genibus. . . . Vox Summi Pontificis auditur quasi praesens adsit, proinde ad eam genuflectere tenentur omnes abbates et praelati praesentes, etiam ii qui privilegiis protonotarii de numero participantium fruuntur; nam in missa solemnii Papae etiam S.R. Rotae Auditores, subdiaconi videlicet apostolici, genuflectunt Summo Pontifici. Id prae oculis habendum est cum generatim praelati et abbates vel etiam canonici putant se a genuflectendo excusatos esse."¹

E. J. M.

ROMAN DOCUMENTS

ERECTION OF SCOTTISH DIOCESAN CHAPTERS

CONSTITUTIONES APOSTOLICAE

I—PASLETANAE

IN PASLETANA DIOECESI CANONICORUM COLLEGIUM ERIGITUR (A.A.S., 1953, XLV, p. 447)

PIUS EPISCOPUS

SERVUS SERVORUM DEI

AD PERPETUAM REI MEMORIAM

Est in antiquo Ecclesiae more prudentissimos ac boni nominis viros de clero eligi, qui magno in honore ac reverentia habiti et quasi lecti in senatum Episcopo assistant eumque in gravissimis Ecclesiae rebus sive consiliis datis sive exhibita opera adiuvent. Quae cum ita sint, Nos Decessorum Nostrorum vestigiis inhaerentes, quotiens id casus ferre videatur, libenti animo Canoniconum Collegia erigimus,

¹ *Pontificalis Romani Expositio*, III, pp. 420 and 425.

cum persuasum habeamus ab huiusmodi Sacerdotum coetibus et iuari Antistites et sacrorum rituum splendorem promoveri. Qua de re, cum venerabilis Frater Iacobus Black, Pasletanus Episcopus, magnis precibus expostulaverit ut in suae dioecesis cathedrali templo Canonicorum Collegium constitueretur, cumque venerabilis Frater Gulielmus Godfrey, Archiepiscopus titulo Cianensis et in Magna Britannia Apostolicus Delegatus idem petierit, Nos id ratum habentes quod Sacrum Consilium Negotiis Consistorialibus praepositum censuerit esse faciendum, post rem attente consideratam, de Nostra apostolica potestate haec quae sequuntur decernimus. In cathedrali templo Ecclesiae Pasletanae Canonicorum Collegium per has Litteras constituimus una ornatum Dignitate, qui est Praepositus, atque ex octo Canonicatibus constans; quorum alteri theologi munus inhaereat, alteri vero admissorum remittendorum officium. Hi Canonicatus, etiamsi primum concedantur, ad iuris normam sunt assignandi: quousque tamen debitis beneficiis careant, poterunt iis quoque sacerdotibus concedi qui iam alio beneficio fruuntur, etsi christianorum animos curandi onus habeant. Cum autem eos deceat qui in Episcopi consilium adiscantur quibusdam insignibus et privilegiis condecorari, indulgemus, ut sive Dignitas sive Canonici distinctiore habitu, modo tamen intra fines suae dioecesis, sese induere valeant: talari scilicet veste, non tamen serica, violacei coloris panno rubro extremis oris adsuta, cum globulis pariter rubris; superpelliceo manicato seu rochetto cum fimbria seu texto denticulato non magis duodecim pollices alto, iuxta anglicum metiendi modum; poterunt quoque palliolo seu mozeta uti violacei coloris, non tamen serica, panno vel laneo violacei coloris subsuta, quae extremis oris pellem albam mustelae alpinae, seu ermellini, praeferat cum globulis coloris rubri Quod vero ad conventus divinis officiis persolvendis vel sacris caeremoniis peragendis attinet, indulgemus ut hora tantum tertia, quae dicitur, recitata absolvantur ac una conventuali Missa cum cantu celebrata, semel saltem in mense diebus festis sollemnioribus; hi autem qui sint, Canonicorum legibus, quam primum conficiendis, accuratius determinabitur. Poterit tamen Episcopus, si id visum fuerit, aliis quoque diebus Canonicos convocare. Cetera omnia quae huiusmodi coetus respiciunt, ad iuris normam regantur. Ea omnia autem quae supra a Nobis statuta sunt venerabilis Frater Gulielmus Godfrey, quem supra nominavimus, exsequenda curabit, vel ille qui eo tempore quo haec decreta perficientur ei Delegationi praeerit. Utrique autem conficiendae rei potestates tribuimus quae poterunt alii quoque viro subdelegari, dummodo in ecclesiastica dignitate constituto. Eidem vero venerabili Fratri oneri erit actarum rerum documenta exarare eorumque fide digna exempla ad Sacram

Congregationem Consistorialem mittere cum primum poterit. Has vero Litteras firmas, validas et efficaces nunc et in posterum esse, suamque vim et effectum habere volumus; ac praecepta quae iisdem describuntur ab omnibus quorum interest fideliter servari decernimus. Quod siquid adversus ea quae hisce Litteris statuimus a quolibet, quavis auctoritate vel sciente vel imprudente attentatum fuerit, id irritum sane erit et inane, contrariis quibuslibet non obstantibus, quibus omnibus per has Litteras derogamus. Volumus autem ut harum Litterarum exemplis vel locis, sive impressis sive manu exaratis, eadem plane tribuatur fides quae hisce ipsis haberetur ostensis, dummodo ab aliquo publico tabellione subscripta sint et sigillo viri munita in ecclesiastica dignitate constituti. Nemini denique iis quae per has Litteras descripta sunt obsistere liceat. Quod siquis temere ausus fuerit, indignationem omnipotentis Dei et beatorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli se noverit esse moturum.

Datum ex Arce Gandulphi, prope Romam, die octava mensis Novembris, anno Domini millesimo nongentesimo quinquagesimo secundo, Pontificatus Nostri quarto decimo.

Pro S. R. E. Cancellario
EUGENIUS Card. TISSERANT
Sacri Collegii Decanus

II—MATRISFONTIS

CANONICORUM COLLEGIUM IN CATHEDRALI TEMPLO MATRISFONTIS
DIOECESIS ERIGITUR ET CONSTITUITUR. (Loc. cit. p. 449.)

(*Omissis*)

In Matrisfontis dioecesis cathedrali templo Canonicorum Collegium erigimus, quod ex una constabit Dignitate, e Praeposito videlicet, atque ex decem Canonicis, quorum alteri munus Theologi, alteri vero munus Praefecti admissis paenitentium expiandis assignetur. Qui Canonicatus et Dignitas, tametsi primum concedantur, ad iuris communis normam conferenda sunt. (*Omissis*)

Datum ex Arce Gandulphi, prope Romam, die octavo mensis Novembris, anno Domini millesimo nongentesimo quinquagesimo secundo, Pontificatus Nostri quarto decimo.

Pro S. R. E. Cancellario
EUGENIUS Card. TISSERANT
Sacri Collegii Decanus

ST CASSIAN, PATRON OF STENOGRAPHERS

LITTERAE APOSTOLICAE

SANCTUS CASSIANUS, MARTYR, TACHYGRAPHORUM ITALICORUM CAELISTIS PATRONUS ELIGITUR. (*A.A.S.*, 1953, XLV, p. 390.)

PIUS PP. XII

Ad perpetuam rei memoriam.—Actuaria scribendi ars, iam in veterum hominum versata usu, hisce temporibus, ut omnes novērunt, nova ratione est exulta magnisque aucta incrementis. Quin sodalitates constitutae sunt tachygraphorum, quorum est brevioribus et compendiaris notis res exprimere atque verba dictantis vel dicentis excipere citissime. Quos expedire visum est peculiari obtegi praesidio superno ut ex caelestis Patroni virtute similitudinem ducerent et ad christianae vitae obeunda instituta nullo non tempore excitarentur. Cum enim superiore anno Neapoli conventus italicae actuariorum societatis, cui “Gabelsberger Noe” est nomen, ageretur, omnes qui affuerunt, una sententia Sanctum Cassianum, Martyrem, Patronum sibi statuerunt adoptare. Qui inclitus Christi athleta, in urbe Foro Cornelii magister fuerat, ut ait Prudentius (*Perist.*, IX, 23–24), “verba notis brevibus comprehendere cuncta peritus raptimque punctis dicta praepetibus sequi”; sed, cum nollet a suprema veritate desciscere, a puerorum turba, quos in honestae huius artis exercitationem docuerat adhibere stilos, his ipsis est, multiplici illato vulnere, impie necatus. Preces igitur ad Nos admotae sunt ut tantum virum tachygraphis ex Italia caelestem constitueremus Patronum; quas, Ordinarii Neapolitani commendatione suffultas, libenti animo censuimus admittendas. Quocirca, audito Venerabili Fratre Nostro Clemente Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae Cardinali Micara, Episcopo Veliterno ac Sacrae Rituum Congregationis Pro-Praefecto, certa scientia ac matura deliberatione Nostra deque Apostolicae potestatis plenitudine, harum Litterarum vi perpetuumque in modum Sanctum Cassianum, Martyrem, tachygraphorum italicorum caelestem apud Deum Patronum eligimus, facimus, renuntiamus, omnibus adiectis honoribus ac privilegiis liturgicis quae coetuum Patronis rite competunt. Contrariis quibusvis nihil obstantibus. Haec edicimus, statuimus, decernentes praesentes Litteras firmas, validas atque efficaces semper exstare ac permanere; suosque plenos atque integros effectus sortiri et obtinere; illisque ad quos spectant, seu spectare poterunt, nunc et in posterum plenissime suffragari; sicque rite iudicandum

esse ac definiendum; irritumque ex nunc et inane fieri, si quidquam secus, super his, a quovis, auctoritate qualibet, scienter sive ignoranter attentari contingerit.

Datum Romae, apud Sanctum Petrum, sub anulo Piscatoris, die XXIII mensis Decembris, anno MCMLII, Pontificatus Nostri quarto decimo.

De speciali mandato Sanctissimi
Pro Domino Cardinali a publicis Ecclesiae negotiis
GILDO BRUGNOLA

BOOK REVIEWS

Handbuch der Moralthologie: Band I. Philosophische Grundlegung der katholischen Moralthologie. By Dr Marcel Reding. Pp. xvi + 216. (Munich: Max Hueber Verlag. No price given.)

THIS volume by Dr Marcel Reding, Professor of Moral Theology in the seminary at Graz in Styria, is planned as the introduction to a fuller Moral Theology that is to be published, presumably in German. The considerable success of Father Henry Davis's four volumes, both in Britain and the United States, is a sign that moral theology books in the vernacular have both their value and their wide appeal.

This introductory volume is not on moral theology in itself but deals rather with certain broad ethical notions. The various layers and levels of human action, the nature of love and appetite, the different factors that go to the making of a moral act, duty and moral values: all these are duly considered.

Dr Reding claims that he is in the main following traditional Thomistic lines and he refers frequently and in detail to St Thomas, using in the main the *Summa* and the commentary on the Nicomachean Ethics. At the same time, he treats of the theories advanced by modern German thinkers, among them Max Scheler and Nicolai Hartmann. He notes the return of a concept of finality in modern writers, under the name of *Thema* or *Thematik*, as a reaction against nineteenth-century Positivism which exercised so widespread an influence in ethics and sociology. This he connects with Husserl's notion of intentionality, which in turn was a revived scholastic concept that came to Husserl through Brentano. Due recognition is given

to social elements and social pressure, which again have been emphasized by more modern authors, but Dr Reding insists on regarding them not as determinants of morality but only as morality's *Unterbau*. Finally, he associates himself with Scheler's arguments which, to his mind, have refuted the formalistic ethics of the Kantians and is inclined himself to lay considerable stress on a *Wertethik*, as outlined by Nicolai Hartmann, though naturally he recognizes the danger latent in such value theories of hypostatizing ethical values.

Dr Reding employs some of the terms of the existentialists, as when he makes a distinction between *Dasein* and *Existenz* in human behaviour. But, contrary to Heidegger, he accepts *Dasein* as meaning *actus hominis* and *Existenz* as the more deliberate *actus humanos*. For Heidegger, it will be remembered, *Dasein* is the properly human manner of existence. Dr Reding develops also, and with profit, the notion, insisted on by thinkers as diverse as Bergson and Heidegger, that the relation between human persons is of a quite other order than that of persons to things. Following Martin Buber and Ebner, he treats of the *Ich-Du* relation, which he finds at the basis of man's personal approach. Throughout, he emphasizes his position is personalist, suggesting that St Thomas may be deemed a humanist but not a personalist, and regretting that the Thomistic view concerns itself too exclusively with nature and not with the individual person. He insists that, in examining moral problems, we must all the time get down to the concrete circumstances—which is true enough—and would use the term *Situationsethik* of his position. In using the term *personal* and *personalist*, he is careful, however, to distinguish his position from the traditional Protestant and the Kantian teaching, which put the whole morality of a human act in the disposition of the acting subject and left nothing over for objective moral standards.

Indeed, far from offending in this respect, Dr Reding might almost be charged with offence in the opposite direction, that is of placing too strong an emphasis on ethical *Werte* or values. In his definition, moral action consists positively in the free striving towards moral values that are to be realized in the concrete. What exactly and where exactly are these *Werte* is another question which, to my mind, is not completely decided, though of course Dr Reding, as I have said already, dissociates himself from the too patent consequences of the value theories of Lotze and Hartmann.

The second portion of the book is concerned with the relation of *eudaimonia* or *Glück* or "happiness", though our English word is not the best of translations, with moral conduct. He traces the teaching first of Plato and Aristotle, then of representative German thinkers of the *Aufklärung* and finally of Kant on this important

problem: and towards the close of the volume deals with the modern approach of Protestant theologians like Karl Barth.

Throughout, the material is presented very clearly indeed, in neat, schematic manner; and the German text is simple and straightforward. Different types are made use of: a broader type for the main text, and smaller lettering for historical amplification and criticism. For myself, I found the material in smaller type more interesting.

Naturally, an introduction of this kind calls for some understanding of German philosophical terms, despite the clarity of presentation, as it also supposes some acquaintance, even if not necessarily a profound one, with more modern German thinking.

Philosophical Studies. Volume III. June 1953. Pp. 196. (Issued by St Patrick's College, Maynooth, Ireland. 7s. 6d. net.)

GIOVANNI PAPINI once remarked that the interests of the Irish philosopher, George Berkeley, could be divided neatly into three: the non-existence of the material world, the evangelization of the natives of North America, and the medicinal properties of tar-water. This third volume of *Philosophical Studies*, edited and issued from the great Irish college of Maynooth, is capable of a like division. It has articles on the Principle of Causality and on the ultimate material substratum (*materia prima*) in the First Book of the *Physics* of Aristotle; further articles on the modern Logical Positivists and on kindred systems of Logical Geometry; and a generous section devoted to book reviews, with full notices of twenty-nine works and shorter notes on several others.

The Logical Positivists enter the field even in the first section, for M. Fernand Van Steenberghen of Louvain informs us that his analysis of the Principle of Causality was prompted by a statement of Professor A. J. Ayer at a Philosophy Congress in 1951 at Strasbourg that a later event could be a "cause" of an earlier one just as easily as the contrary. Father O'Donoghue's contribution on Aristotelian thought prescinds from the modern fancy for linguistic problems and consists of a thorough study of the First Book of the *Physics*: the article is part of a doctoral thesis at Louvain University. Indeed the evidence of collaboration between Louvain and Maynooth in this volume is very encouraging.

Two articles examine very fully the position of Logical Positivism, seen through the writings of Professor Ayer. Father McCarthy, O.P., clearly demonstrates that class names and logical and mathematical propositions, which the Logical Positivists admit, necessitate supra-empirical realities, which they deny; and he insists that language

cannot be independent of mind and a thinking subject. Father Crowley, O.F.M., of Queen's College, Belfast, challenges Ayer's interpretation of various other thinkers. Père André Deprit, S.J., of Louvain, discusses technically the *Leçons de Logique algébrique* of H. B. Curry.

Philosophical Studies is a serious and technical review, that can be recommended to all students of philosophy and of modern ways of thought, not least because it is plainly interested in modern problems.

Selection I. Edited by Cecily Hastings and Donald Nicholl. Pp. xxi + 216. (London: Sheed & Ward. 15s. net.)

REGRET has been not infrequently expressed that excellent articles and admirable addresses at Summer Congresses remain decently buried in individual periodicals and are never available for a general reading public. The purpose of *Selection I* is to disinter a selection of such articles. Certainly, the names of the contributors are distinguished, including as they do, Professor Evans-Pritchard of Oxford, Père Kälin, O.P., of Fribourg, Father von Balthasar and Karl Pieper from Germany, and Père Beirnaert, S.J., and Charles Baudouin of France, to say nothing of contributors from Britain.

The general notion of such a collection of articles is very good. Opinions will, however, always differ about the articles chosen and, despite the explanation provided by the two editors in an introduction, there would appear to be little unity in their choice. We are told that it is tragic that today specialists cannot even speak to specialists because the language and terms they employ in their various branches of study are not mutually understood and that there is need for the recreation of a *universitas* in the old sense, a unified body of learning through which the riches of the universe may be appreciated, tasted and known. Certainly. But, when we search more closely to find the necessary *thread* for these selected articles, all we discover is that these are "studies made by first-rate minds, as an affirmation of faith in the universe". Now, I dislike the term "affirmation": it seems too literal a translation of the German *Ja-sagen*, that can be used for almost anything; and what faith in the universe is, I do not know.

However, the book does contain a number of well written articles, from anthropology, psychology, theology and Biblical scholarship and interpretation, by very competent scholars. The articles are serious and in some cases fully technical. Only a widely diversified interest could appreciate them all.

JOHN MURRAY, S.J.

A Doctor Heals by Faith. By Christopher Woodard. Pp. 171. (Max Parrish, Ltd. 12s. 6d.)

IN the first Prayer Book of Edward VI, at the conclusion of the service for the "Visitation of the Sick", provision is made for the anointing of the invalid if he so desires. This custom was so much a part of the religious life of the English people that the first Reformers did not wish, or if they did so, did not dare to suppress it. In King Edward's second book, that of 1552, this rite is omitted and it has never been restored in any of the subsequent revisions of the Anglican Prayer Book. It is indeed not a little mystifying that a practice for which there exists such plain scriptural authority should have been discontinued by those who claim so strenuously that their religion is based upon Scripture, and it is not surprising to learn that, though without official sanction, the anointing of the sick is privately practised in the Church of England.

In spite of her age-long retention of the custom of anointing sick persons the Catholic Church has never adopted the position of the extreme faith healer that we can dispense with the doctor altogether and rely only on what is now called psychotherapy. Nor have the great majority of Protestants taken up such an attitude either. On the other hand there is nothing uncatholic in the belief that illnesses are aggravated, and in some cases perhaps actually induced, by unwholesome states of mind, and that with the removal of such, amelioration of bodily health may occur. In what exact proportion the physical and mental causes of disease are operative it is in most cases probably impossible to tell. If we could we should obviously be better placed than we are in the matter of selecting remedies.

The author of this book, a great-grandson of the founder of the Woodard schools, is a devout Anglican who maintains the unpopular thesis that when mankind has grown wiser healing by faith will supersede, or at any rate almost supersede, healing by medicine. But that state has not yet been reached. In answer to the question "To what point should we rely on medical aid?" he replies, "The vast majority of people would be foolish to depend on anything else, because they have only reached a stage of understanding in which their whole thought-processes and sentiments demand human help" (p. 95).

In part Dr Woodard's ideas seem to resemble those which Mesmer sought to put into practice at his clinic in Paris in the eighteenth century, viz. belief in the therapeutic properties of a universal magnetic fluid conveyed by one organism to another by means of contact or even by passes alone. Thus when the author's little boy was critically ill with meningitis he believes that this

method had a large share in bringing about his recovery. "I honestly believe," he writes, "that a very important factor in this case was my holding his [the patient's] hands for a prolonged period . . . because some form of energy passed from my healthy body into his weak body" (p. 35).

In healing by means of contact, however, we have something nearer akin to orthodox medicine than in pure Faith healing. Dr Woodard is willing to accept the co-operation of the Christian Scientists though he will not go the whole way with them.

One is so glad to welcome a medical man who combats in his writing a materialistic conception of human life, that one regrets to be compelled to offer some criticisms of his thesis. But all Catholics (and indeed many Protestants) will disagree with Dr Woodard in his comparison of the ministry of healing with the forgiveness of sins. "Jesus," he says, "always forgives if He is asked. He always heals, if He is asked." The writer does indeed say that a patient, if he desires to be healed, must put himself right with God and do away with barriers which will prevent the gift of healing from operating, but he seems to overlook the fact that while we pray *absolutely* for the conversion of a sinner because we know that it is for his good that he should be converted, we pray *conditionally* for the recovery of a sick man since we do not know in any given case whether his recovery would be spiritually beneficial to him or not.

In the chapter on "the Ideal Healing Sanctuary" some of the practical difficulties of giving effect to the "ministry of healing" are set forth. Granted that the extreme view which would eliminate the doctor altogether is set aside, is this ministry to be under the direction of the clergy or the medical profession? In an Anglican healing sanctuary at Milton Abbey an attempt to run the institution under the sole authority of a clergyman proved a failure, and Dr Woodard admits that it is quite impracticable for the doctors to be under non-professional direction in medical matters. On the other hand if patients and staff owe a dual allegiance a wrong atmosphere may be created. The author believes that this problem may be solved on the analogy of the relation existing between the Church authorities and the Medical Bureau at Lourdes.

HUMPHREY J. T. JOHNSON.

Medieval Religious Houses. England and Wales. By David Knowles and R. Neville Hadcock. (Longmans. 42s.)

DOM DAVID KNOWLES who is *par excellence* the authority on mediaeval monasticism has now, with the collaboration of the compiler of the Ordnance Survey Map of Monastic Britain, produced the best and

fullest work of reference on the subject that could be devised. It is a catalogue of all the religious establishments in England and Wales from 1066 to the Dissolution; for, besides the houses of monks, canons, friars, nuns and the two military orders, it includes all the hospitals, all the secular colleges, the academic colleges (Oxford and Cambridge), other secular establishments, the early Celtic monasteries and houses of uncertain Order or foundation. For good measure there is a table of the bishoprics with their respective incomes in 1535 (the date of the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*) and the list of the monastic churches made secular cathedrals by Henry VIII between 1538 and 1546.

This enumeration of the heads of contents would alone give an inadequate idea of the wealth of information methodically set out. The catalogue, arranged alphabetically under the various Orders, gives first the Benedictine (Black) Monks, Alien Cells, Cluniacs and their dependencies, not omitting the seven houses of the Order of Tiron, the three houses of Grandmontines or even Henry V's projected but unrealized foundation for Celestines at Sheen. Then the Cistercians and the Carthusians, the Canons Regular and all the Friars. The details tabulated are: County, Rank, Net Income in 1535, dates of foundation and dissolution, and, for cells and dependencies, the name of the mother house. Below are lucid and valuable notes stating the number of monks at various dates, geographical particulars, problems and peculiarities, if any, with full citation of sources and authorities—in short, a concise history of almost every house. When at length we come to the hospitals, we find indication of the type, e.g. whether for lepers, men lepers only, women lepers only, poor, aged and sick, aged or sick priests, travellers and poor pilgrims, poor residents in almshouses, and so forth. The religious in charge are designated: Order of St Lazarus of Jerusalem, of St Mary of Bethany, of St Thomas the Martyr of Acon, of St Anthony of Vienne. No such comprehensive work of reference on the subject has ever yet appeared.

Mr Neville Hadcock's part is represented by six beautiful folding maps: the Black Monks in England and Wales; the Cistercians, Carthusians and Premonstratensians; the Augustinian Canons and Others; the Friars; the Nuns in England and Wales; the Cathedrals, Secular Colleges, Large Hospitals, etc., in England and Wales c. 1509.

All this is preceded by a luminous essay of fifty-four pages on the Origin and Development of the Religious Life in Great Britain. This brilliant historical sketch of a vast and complex organization is in itself a work of great value and importance, for anybody who is

unacquainted with its subject will never really understand the making of England.

In a preface entitled *Notitia Monastica* Professor Knowles pays tribute to his predecessors and to the attempts of the antiquarians to draw up lists of the Religious Houses. Full and generous acknowledgment is made of the work of such scholars as Dr Rose Graham, Dr H. E. Salter, the late Dr A. G. Little, Miss R. M. Clay and others and, in particular, the *Victoria County History* volumes. But, though mention is made of Abbot Gasquet's lists, nothing is said about that which appeared in *A History of the English Church in the Sixteenth Century from Henry VIII to Mary*, by James Gairdner, 1902. This was a classified list in ten sections, giving the houses suppressed by Wolsey 1524-28; the monasteries suppressed by Parliament, 1536; those surrendered to the King, 1537-40; those suppressed by attainder, 1537-39, together with a map showing the dioceses old and new and the Religious Houses in the England of Henry VIII.

The Conquest of Devil's Island. By Charles Péan. (Max Parrish, Ltd. 10s. 6d.)

It was the Salvation Army in France that brought about the suppression of the horrible Penal Settlement of Cayenne, French Guiana. The narrative, objective and without emphasis, is in the first person, for it was M. Charles Péan himself who was first sent out there by his superior in 1928 to see and hear and report. Five years of agitation followed, and then in 1933 a Salvationist mission, headed by "Captain" Péan, went out to start the work of reclamation and re-humanization that was necessary before any of those unhappy beings could be repatriated. Repatriation began cautiously in 1936 and was not completed till 1952. The Hell-on-earth, if ever there was one, had lasted for a hundred years.

The dreadful system was the outcome of avarice rather than of wanton cruelty. The abolition of slavery in 1848 deprived Guiana of man-power and labour in one day, so to speak, and within two years the whole country had reverted to jungle. When transportation to Guiana recommenced in 1852 [it had been used during the Revolution and was aptly called *la guillotine sèche*], somebody added the dreadful provision that any man sentenced to more than seven years had to remain in the colony for life, and anybody sentenced to penal servitude for less than seven years had to remain there for a further term equal to the original sentence—this was called *doublage*. Those who survived were, by a cruel mockery, called *libérés*. They existed in such a condition of degradation, destitution, disease and hopeless misery, that sooner or later they committed fresh crime and were

consigned again to the *bagne*. Thus, no expense was ever incurred in bringing anybody back. Dreyfus was one of the very few, before 1936, who ever saw Europe again. Very few of the *libérés* had the money to stamp a letter to France: thousands had lost their reason before being released by death or by suicide.

If it is true, as here represented, that the ending of this ghastly system was wholly, or almost wholly, due to the efforts of the Salvation Army, it redounds infinitely to the credit of that body. Many painful and disquieting thoughts will be aroused in the mind of everyone who reads this book.

Father Hecker and his Friends: Studies and Reminiscences. By Joseph McSorley of the Paulist Fathers. (B. Herder Book Co., London. 30s.)

THIS is the story of the foundation of the Paulist Fathers who are now such an important feature of Catholic life and work in the United States. The writer has known all but seven of a congregation numbering two hundred and fifty-two priests, so that his narrative is based upon personal knowledge, long experience and much unpublished source material. The Paulists came into existence in 1858 as the result of an effort to bridge the widening chasm between Catholics and Protestants and to develop a missionary effort to the latter in a more specifically American manner than was deemed possible for Irish or German priests then working in the United States. The five pioneers, all converts, were originally Redemptorists who, convinced that their own methods—or, at least, their approach—would be more successful, obtained dispensation in Rome from their Redemptorist vows and started afresh. There were, of course, problems to be solved: should they copy the Oratorians or the Sulpicians; should they take vows; should they, after all, occupy themselves with Protestants when there were not enough priests to minister to Catholics. After some vicissitudes an efficient and flexible organization was adopted in accord with the episcopate. Their own variegated background, Lutheran, Calvinistic, Unitarian, Methodist and so forth, helped them considerably in dealing with their converts.

Isaac Hecker, Augustine Hewitt, George Deshon, respectively the first three Superiors, are the principal characters in the story, but many others are important: notably Francis Baker, Alfred Young, George Searle, Walter Elliott. It is interesting to learn that with encouragement from Herbert Vaughan they tried to make a foundation in Europe, but Cardinal Manning did not entertain the proposition made to him in 1885.

The book has eight illustrations, of which six are portraits, and is commended in an Introduction by the Archbishop of Philadelphia.
J. J. D.

De Beatitudine, De Actibus Humanis et Habitibus. Auctore P. Reginaldo Garrigou-Lagrange. Pp. 485. (Berutti, Turin.)

THE name of this distinguished theologian assures the reader, in advance, firstly that the range of his book will be restricted to a commentary on the first fifty-four questions of the *Prima-Secundae* of St Thomas's *Summa*; and, secondly, that the work will be carefully executed in strict adherence to the teaching of the master, the Thomist thesis being naturally preferred on all disputed points. This is not to say that the writer holds himself aloof from modern developments and theories: on the contrary, a student approaching the study of moral theology for the first time will find an adequate description and criticism of them in the course of this commentary. For good or for ill, Probabilism is in practice accepted at the present time, and one would expect to find more space devoted to it, or at least to its refutation, than the learned author has seen fit to give. St Thomas lived happily before the appearance of Probabilism and all the other "isms" which have been presented by various schools of thought for solving doubts of conscience. Perhaps this accounts for the brief treatment of Probabilism in the few pages of the author's "supplement" to Question XXI; or it may be that the question will be faced more fully when Fr Garrigou-Lagrange comments on the virtue of Prudence.

E. J. M.

Desperate Drums. By Eva K. Betz. Pp. viii + 213. (St Anthony Guild Press, Paterson, New Jersey. \$2.00.)

PASSING over the frightful aspects of war, and being satisfied with merely touching upon the sufferings it brings, Mrs Betz makes use of it to bring before the minds of her young readers (she writes for teenagers) the glamour of courage and manliness. Battles are the making of heroes; and the heroes of this story—of whom there are several—all stand out finely in the lurid light of eighteenth-century warfare. English boys and girls cannot be expected to enthuse over a tale in which their nation plays an unheroic part; but American children will appreciate it because it speaks of their country's victorious struggle for independence. There is the merest suggestion of love and romance, to give the story form, but the book's chief merit is its championship of the virtues that should shine in the souls of the young.

DECCA L.P. GRAMOPHONE RECORDS

Rubbra: *Missa in Honorem S. Dominici* (Fleet Street Choir). **Vaughan Williams:** *Mass in G minor* (Fleet Street Choir), LXT 2794; *Pastoral Symphony* (London Philharmonic, Adrian Boult), LXT 2787. **Bach:** *Chorale Preludes* (Fritz Heitmann), LGM 65008; *Selections from The Art of Fugue* (Fritz Heitmann), LGM 65009. **Purcell:** *O Lord, Grant the Queen a Long Life*. **Arne:** *Now All the Air Shall Ring* (Aldeburgh Festival Choir, Imogen Holst), LXT 2798.

THESE two modern unaccompanied Masses on one twelve-inch disc are evidence of the Company's discernment in thus associating the two works, of which only the Mass by Vaughan Williams has been recorded before (on 78 discs). It was first performed at Westminster Cathedral, 12 March 1923, by the Cathedral choir under Dr Terry, a friend of the composer. Its rendering by the Fleet Street choir, apart from the singular Latin pronunciation always favoured by its late conductor, is good in our opinion, though some listeners have been adversely critical; we like especially the firm unwavering treble which is rarely obtained from women sopranos; the recording is also quite adequate. In both respects Dr Rubbra's work is less fortunate, perhaps, but a warm welcome must be extended to this Catholic composer's Mass in what is so far the only recording obtainable. It is not apparent why the intonation of the *Gloria* is assigned to the choir, but apart from this small point the work conforms exactly, as also does the Mass by Vaughan Williams, with the existing rules for liturgical music in the Catholic Church. Though written in a modern idiom (twenty-five years or so separates the two) both Masses may be said to continue the English Tudor tradition of Church music which was all but wrecked by the Protestant Reformation. Vaughan Williams's *Pastoral Symphony*, of quiet reflective quality throughout, and with a wordless soprano voice added to the finale, is excellently performed and recorded.

The eight chorale preludes on LGM 65008, taken from the *Orgelbüchlein* and *Eighteen Chorales*, enter into the core of Bach's genius in adapting existing hymn melodies, many of them from the old Catholic plainsong, to the needs of the Lutheran liturgy. Unlike *The Art of Fugue*, which was not composed specifically for the organ and has appeared in various combinations of instruments, these pieces are the organist's own province, and we think the disc will satisfy most.

The music at the Aldeburgh Festival, 20 June 1953, was an echo

of the nation's joy in the coronation year. The whole of one side is given to variations composed by a number of contemporary writers on a theme by Byrd, and on the reverse the items noted above. The happy vein in Purcell's church music is well exhibited in this little-known composition, sung with appropriate high spirits by the Aldeburgh Festival Choir.

CORRESPONDENCE

DUPLICATE PARISH REGISTERS

(THE CLERGY REVIEW, 1953, XXXIII, pp. 620, 635)

"Paucapalea" writes:

On the above subject E.J.M. says ". . . the four parochial registers must be in duplicate in order to send one each year to the episcopal curia. But does any parish priest anywhere do this? Custom has happily decreed to the contrary, and the legislator apparently turns a blind eye to the omission. This being so, a commentator would perform a useful office in drawing attention to the practice of not observing the law, and in showing that its neglect is justified."

The Diocesan Statutes of Liverpool (1945) and Nottingham (1946) do not stress the common law of canon 470, §3, by repeating it; but the Statutes of Lancaster (1945), Northampton (1947) and Menevia (1951) explicitly mention the obligation, adding "Printed forms for the duplicates may be used . . .". This being so, is it true to say that the legislator "apparently turns a blind eye to the omission" without any qualification? and could it be true that no parish priest anywhere observes the law?

If it is true that "the parish priest . . . feels that he is getting suffocated with legislation" in this matter, he should realize that his registers may one day be published as historical treasures by some historical society or deposited in the British Museum. And if that prospect seems rather remote in this thermo-nuclear age, the reason given by Beste should appeal to him: "*si forte libri paroeciales incendio aliove infortunio pereant*". Experience with German and other bombardees should have taught us the value of having a duplicate; some of us have learnt the same at first-hand.

As for the argument, "The peculiar position of the Church in this country has rendered the law impracticable", the penal days are over, and there is no excuse for some of our peculiarities any longer.

Does Canon Law really suppose that "dioceses will be much smaller than those in England and America"? Malines has 895 parishes and 3,128,716 Catholics; Paderborn—605 parishes and 2,345,344 Catholics; Bergamo—406 parishes and 600,000 Catholics; Madrid—2,351,015 Catholics in 281 parishes. Even the largest of our dioceses should be able to house duplicates of the registers without difficulty; and if they are on microfilms a strong biscuit-tin would be a large enough archivum for a century.

Mgr James Redmond, Liverpool, writes:

Not for the first time have I been honoured by being credited with some of the contributions of my esteemed namesake, the late Father Joseph P. Redmond, of Southwark.

In this case, however, I feel it necessary to issue a disclaimer. On the point discussed I offer no comment. On the facts, however, I find it necessary to observe that in this Diocese of Liverpool for over ten years the provisions of canon 470, §3, have been complied with, and duplicate copies of the Baptismal and Marriage Registers are sent in annually. As these returns are made to me it is obviously necessary that the clergy (of Liverpool Diocese) should not be misled into thinking some change has been made, still less in this period of *sede vacante*.

ST PETER'S DENIALS

(THE CLERGY REVIEW, 1953, XXXVIII, p. 597)

The Rev. Hubert Richards writes:

I was interested to see Father Sutcliffe expressing modified horror at the suggestion that there is even the appearance of contradiction between the four accounts of St Peter's denials. I was particularly interested because I had just finished reading an article written as far back as 1896 (*Revue Biblique*, V, 1896, p. 312) in which Lagrange uses just those four accounts of this incident as an example of the liberty which anybody would normally allow even to the most conscientious of historians. He wrote: "Since human words can never make an event really come to life again, the most careful and well-informed historian can never *intend* to reproduce what was said and what was done with *absolute* exactness. His account will always contain some details which he doesn't intend to *assert*. . . . (Consequently) even in the Bible we must not suppose that the sacred author intends to *assert* the absolute exactness of the words and deeds, down to their last detail. That sort of material exactness is not in the

nature of history. History is concerned only with formal exactness, to reproduce the substantial truth of what was said and done. You have only to look through the Gospels to see that their authors report the same event and the same words in different ways. Now one system of interpretation, faced with these divergences, will immediately . . . demand a duplication of the event. For example, Peter must have denied our Lord six or seven times, because the Gospels report that number of different places and persons. . . . And yet in all four Gospels, our Lord predicts that Peter will deny Him only three times. A fine way of safeguarding the truth of an inspired book! . . . They would never have applied this clumsy method of interpretation to any other history . . . it must be reserved for the interpretation of the word of God. We refuse to have anything to do with this sort of exegesis, which in any case has never been truly traditional. Nor should we have anything to do with this way of judging history—it is quite arbitrary. Yes certainly, the *facts* are certain, but they are told like any other fact would be told. God only *teaches* what the historian *intends* to teach. He guarantees its truth, but don't let us treat every artistic detail as a piece of divine, infallibly true teaching. Instead of multiplying the discourses and the events by forced harmonization (it is always metaphysically and physically possible, but it is rarely satisfactory critically) let us explain the divergences by the liberty which any author enjoys, by the different purpose he may have had, by the different source of information he may have had access to. After all, the divergences will only underline the substantial truth of the facts." (*Italics mine.*)

It is true that Father Sutcliffe does not demand seven denials, but his insistence that each tiniest detail must have an exact correspondence in fact seems to spring from the same passion for the sort of exactness that no historian, inspired or otherwise, can give you. His dovetailing of the divergent details is ingenious, but do we really have to tie ourselves in knots in this way? Does our exegesis really have to worry about (not to say concern itself mainly with) the sort of minutiae that the author never intended to guarantee? There is nothing in tradition to make us suppose so. St Augustine was quite happy to explain the divergences between the four Evangelists by the fact that they had to rely a good deal on their memory, and a man relying on his memory does not intend to make a series of *ex cathedra* statements. Theophylact (on this precise text) says that we should not worry over the exact details, but only rest assured that the Evangelists will not disagree on anything that concerns our salvation. The remarks could be paralleled from St Jerome and from St Thomas.

In short, let us admit that there can be no *real* contradiction between the Evangelists. But the reason for this is *not* that all the details always agree with each other (they do not) but that what one Evangelist *asserts* (and therefore what God asserts) will not contradict what another Evangelist asserts.

IONA ABBEY

(THE CLERGY REVIEW, 1953, XXXVIII, p. 631).

The Rev. W. A. D. H. Scott Charles, Second Chaplain to St. Mary's Cathedral, Edinburgh, writes:

May I, as a Priest of the Scottish Episcopal Church, crave the courtesy of your columns to correct two errors of fact in "T. A. McG's" review of "Iona"?

In 1899 the then Duke of Argyll gave Iona Abbey to the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, and *not* to the Episcopal Church. Indeed it is commonly believed that he did this in his lifetime with the express intention of making it impossible for the ninth Duke, an Episcopalian and on very bad terms with the eighth Duke, giving us the Abbey when he should succeed to the title. Secondly, the Iona Community has no connexion whatsoever with the Episcopal Church. Started as a private venture by the Rev. Dr George McLeod, a Presbyterian Minister, it is now under the control of the General Assembly of that Church. While we much rejoice at the restoration of the Abbey and the attempts being made, *longo intervallo*, to restore something like a religious order in Scotland it would be unfair both to the Presbyterians and ourselves were any confusion on this point allowed to remain uncorrected.

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Several new features have been introduced in recent years, including a list of European Volunteer Worker Priests serving in Great Britain, statistics concerning the number of men in Religious Orders in this country, new educational statistics in conformity with the Ministry of Education's terminology, etc. Prominent among the **new features introduced last year** is a series of diocesan maps showing the location of every place where regular Sunday Mass is said, and a list of H.M. Prisons and Borstal Institutions and the parishes from which they are served. In addition, there are details of the places visited regularly by the various Diocesan Travelling Missions. **New features this year** include a series of Diocesan Maps for Scotland, showing the location of every place where regular Sunday Mass is said, a combined list of University Chaplains in England, Wales and Scotland, with their addresses and telephone numbers, a list of Teachers' Training Colleges, and a re-arrangement of the Glasgow Diocesan section which makes it easier to find a church in any particular part of the city.

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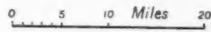
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